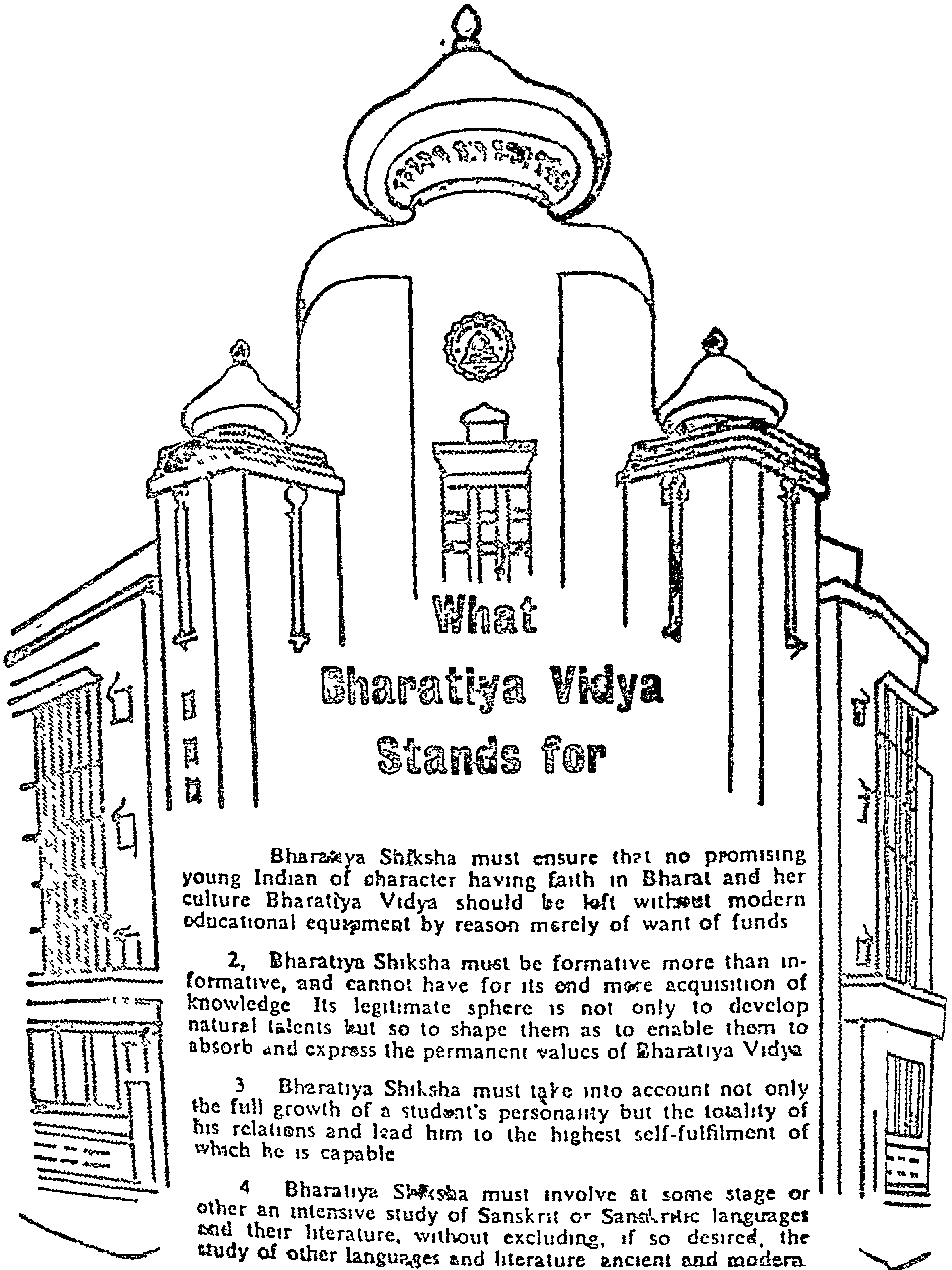

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What Bharatiya Vidya Stands for

Bharatiya Shiksha must ensure that no promising young Indian of character having faith in Bharat and her culture Bharatiya Vidya should be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds

2, Bharatiya Shiksha must be formative more than informative, and cannot have for its end mere acquisition of knowledge Its legitimate sphere is not only to develop natural talents but so to shape them as to enable them to absorb and express the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya

3 Bharatiya Shiksha must take into account not only the full growth of a student's personality but the totality of his relations and lead him to the highest self-fulfilment of which he is capable

4 Bharatiya Shiksha must involve at some stage or other an intensive study of Sanskrit or Sanskritic languages and their literature, without excluding, if so desired, the study of other languages and literature ancient and modern

5 The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process

6 Bharatiya Shiksha must stimulate the student's power of expression, both written and oral, at every stage in accordance with the highest ideals attained by the great literary masters in the intellectual and moral spheres

7. The technique of Bharatiya Shiksha must involve—

(a) the adoption by the teacher of the *Guru* attitude which consists in taking a personal interest in the student, inspiring and encouraging him to achieve distinction in his studies, entering into his life with a view to form ideals and remove psychological obstacles, and creating in him a spirit of consecration, and

(b) the adoption by the student of the *Sishya* attitude by the development of—

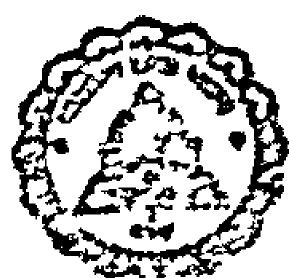
(i) respect for the teacher,

(ii) a spirit of inquiry,

(iii) a spirit of service towards the teacher, the institution, Bharat and Bharatiya Vidya.

8 The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Shiksha is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which is flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi

9 Bharatiya Shiksha while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training must teach the student, not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change, not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form of attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya, and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present it to the world



आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

—Rigveda, I-89-i

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

General Editors

K. M. MUNSHI

R. R. DIWAKAR

40

INDIAN INHERITANCE

VOL. III

SCIENCE

AND

SOCIETY

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

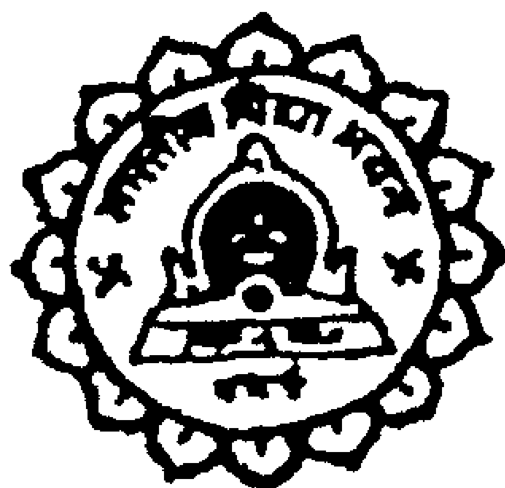
Organising Committee

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

INDIAN INHERITANCE

VOL. III

SCIENCE
AND
SOCIETY



1970
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHAUPATTY, BOMBAY

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay — needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular emphasis, however, was to be put on such literature as revealed the deeper impulsions of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books. 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once Each book was to contain from 200 to 250 pages and was to be priced at Rs. 2—50.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting its utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of the Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit :

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions which would allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressively transmuted, so that man may become the instrument of God, and is able to see Him in all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspiration which such books can teach

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form easily accessible to all. Books in other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, as also the movements of the mind in India, which though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata*, summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C Rajagopalachari, the second work is on a section of it, the *Gita* by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata* "What is not in it, is nowhere". After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who knows it not, knows not the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic, it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival, but, above all, it has for its core the *Gita*, which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas in which the climax is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi
3rd October, 1951

K. M. MUNSHI

FOREWORD

I HAVE, on several occasions, noted the fact that the study of Indian history and culture is being neglected in our Universities. I equally consider it a part of the equipment of our educated men that not only should they be emotionally aware of the cultural heritage of our land, but should also develop a spiritual kinship with it.

Article 5 of the basic objective of the Bhavan runs as follows —

> " The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process "

The Vice-Chancellors' conference of U.P. Universities also made a recommendation that arrangements should be made in the Universities and the affiliated Colleges to start a regular course of lectures on Indian Culture. The principal difficulty in prescribing these courses was the lack of any book dealing with different aspects on the Indian inheritance as viewed by leading modern writers, available at a price within the means of teacher or student.

The preparation and publication of such a book was a difficult task, which I am glad to say the Bhavan willingly agreed to undertake

I am greatly indebted to my co-Editor of the Book University, Sri N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, and to my friends Sri Humayun Kabir, Secretary, Ministry of Education, Dr. K. M. Panikkar, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, Professor Abdul Majeed of the Jamia Millia,

Dr. A. D Pusalker, Asst. Director and Head of the Dept. of Ancient Indian History in Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and Dr. Asoke Majumdar, Professor of History in the Bhavan's College, for helping me in making the selections for such a book. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee rendered continuous assistance in preparing the volumes. The burden of going through all the selected passages and editing them to fit into the plan of the book fell on Dr. Asoke Majumdar. Dr. A. D. Pusalker was also good enough to help in preparing the volume.

On behalf of the Bhavan, I gratefully acknowledge the learned authors, among whom it has the honour to include such distinguished authors as Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Sri Rajagopalachari Our acknowledgments are also due to several publishers who have given the Bhavan permission to include in this work extracts from books published by them.

The Bhavan is also indebted to the Ramakrishna Mission and Sri Aurobindo Ashram for their permission to publish extracts from the works of Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo respectively.

Raj Bhavan,
Naini Tal.
July 1, 1955.

K. M. MUNSHI

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SECTION I

SCIENCE

I

POSITIVE SCIENCES

(i) MATHEMATICS

THROUGH the necessity of accurately laying out the open-air site of a sacrifice Indians very early evolved a simple system of geometry, but in the sphere of practical knowledge the world owes most to India in the realm of mathematics, which were developed in Gupta times to a stage more advanced than that reached by any other nation of antiquity. The success of Indian mathematics was mainly due to the fact that the Indians had a clear conception of abstract number, as distinct from numerical quantity of objects or spatial extension While Greek mathematical science was largely based on mensuration and geometry, India transcended these conceptions quite early, and, with the aid of a simple numeral notation, devised a rudimentary algebra which allowed more complicated calculations than were possible to the Greeks, and led to the study of number for its own sake.

In the earlier inscriptions of India dates and other numerals are written in a notation not unlike that of the Romans, Greeks and Hebrews, with separate symbols for the tens and hundreds The earliest inscription recording the date by a system of nine digits and a zero, with place notation for the tens and hundreds, comes from Gujarat, and is dated A.D 595. By this time, however, the new system had been heard of in Syria, and was being used as far afield as Indo-China Evidently the system was in use

among mathematicians some centuries before it was employed in inscriptions, the scribes of which tended to be conservative in their system of recording dates; in modern Europe the cumbrous Roman system is still sometimes used for same purpose. The name of the mathematician who devised the simplified system of writing numerals is unknown, but the earliest surviving mathematical texts — the anonymous "Bakshali Manuscript", which is a copy of a text of the 4th century A.D., and the terse *Aryabhatiya* of Aryabhata, written in A D 449—presuppose it.

For long it was thought that the decimal system of numerals was invented by the Arabs, but this is certainly not the case The Arabs themselves called mathematics "the Indian (art)" (*hindisat*), and there is now no doubt that the decimal notation, with other mathematical lore, was learnt by the Muslim world either through merchants trading with the west coast of India, or through the Arabs who conquered Sind in A D 712.

The debt of the Western world to India in this respect cannot be over-estimated. Most of the great discoveries and inventions of which Europe is so proud would have been impossible without a developed system of mathematics, and this in turn would have been impossible if Europe had been shackled by the unwieldy system of Roman numerals. The unknown man who devised the new system was from the world's point of view, after the Buddha, the most important son of India. His achievement, though easily taken for granted, was the work of an analytical mind of the first order, and he deserves much more honour than he has so far received.

Medieval Indian mathematicians, such as Brahmagupta (7th century), Mahavira (9th century) and Bhaskara

(12th century), made several discoveries which in Europe were not known until the Renaissance or later. They understood the import of positive and negative quantities, evolved sound systems of extracting square and cube roots, and could solve quadratic and certain types of indeterminate equations. For Aryabhata gave the usual modern approximate value of 3 1416, expressed in the form of a fraction $\frac{62832}{20000}$ This value, much more accurate than that of the Greeks, was improved to nine places of decimals by later Indian mathematicians. Some steps were made in trignometry, spherical geometry and calculus, chiefly in connexion with astronomy. The mathematical implications of zero (*shunya*) and infinity, never more than vaguely realized by classical authorities, were fully understood in medieval India. Earlier mathematicians had taught that $\frac{x}{0} = x$ but Bhaskara proved that it was infinity. He also established mathematically what had been recognized in Indian theology at least a millennium earlier, that infinity, however divided, remains infinite, represented by the equation $\frac{\infty}{x} = \infty$.

(ii) PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

Ancient Indian ideas of physics were closely linked with religion and theology, and differed somewhat from sect to sect. As early as the time of the Buddha, if not before, the universe was classified by elements, of which all schools admitted at least four—earth, air, fire and water. To these orthodox Hindu schools and Jainism added a fifth, *akasha*, which is generally translated "ether". It was recognized that air was not of infinite extension, and the Indian mind, with its abhorrence of a vacuum, found

it hard to conceive of empty space The five elements were thought of as the mediums of sense impressions—earth of smell, air of feeling, fire of vision, water of taste, and ether of sound. Buddhists and Ajivikas rejected ether, but the latter added life, joy and sorrow, which were thought as in some way material, making a total of seven elements.

Most schools believed that the elements other than ether were atomic Indian atomism was certainly independent of Greek influence, for an atomic theory was taught by Pakudha Katyayana, an older contemporary of the Buddha, and was therefore earlier than that of Democritus. The Jainas believed that all atoms *(anu)* were identical, and that differences of the character of the elements were due to the manner in which the atoms were combined. Most schools, however, maintained that there were as many types of atom as there were elements

The atom was generally thought to be eternal, but some Buddhists conceived of it not only as the minutest object capable of occupying space, but also as occupying the minutest possible duration of time, coming into being and vanishing almost in an instant, only to be succeeded by another atom, caused by the first. Thus the atom of Buddhism in some measure resembles the quantum of Planck The atom was quite invisible to the human eye, the orthodox Vaisheshika school believed the single atom to be a mere point in space, completely without magnitude.

A single atom had no qualities, but only potentialities, which came into play when the atom combined with others. The Vaisheshika school, which specially elaborated atomic doctrines, and was the school of aomism *par excellence*, maintained that, before combining to form material objects, atoms made primary combinations of

diads and triads. This doctrine of molecules was developed differently by Buddhists and Ajivikas, who taught that in normal conditions no atoms existed in a pure state, but only combined in different proportions in a molecule. Every molecule contained at least one atom of all four types, and obtained its character from the predominance of a given element This hypothesis accounted for the fact that matter might show characteristics of more than one element · thus wax might melt and also burn, because its molecules contained proportions of water and fire According to the Buddhists the molecules cohered by virtue of the atoms of water in each, which acted as adhesive.

Indian atomic theories were not, of course, based on experiment, but on intuition and logic. They were not universally held. The great theologian Shankara did not believe in atoms and argued strongly against their existence. But the atomic theories of ancient India are brilliant imaginative explanations of the physical structure of the world; though it is probably mere coincidence that they agree in part with the theories of modern physics, they are nevertheless much to the credit of the intellect and imagination of early Indian thinkers.

Beyond this ancient Indian physics developed little. Without knowledge of an all-embracing law of gravity it remained in a rudimentary state, like all the physical systems of the ancient world. It was generally believed that the elements of earth and water tended to fall, and fire to rise, and it was recognized that solids and fluids alike generally expanded on heating, but no serious effort was made to study such phenomena experimentally. In the science of acoustics, however, India made real discoveries based on experiment, and the ear, highly trained by the phonetic

study necessary for the correct recitation of the Vedas, learned to distinguish musical tones far closer than those of other early musical systems. Before the Christian era the octave was divided into twenty-two *shrutis*, or quarter-tones, and their proportions were measured with great accuracy. It was recognized that differences of timbre were caused by overtones (*anuranana*), which varied with different instruments.

We know from the evidence of the Iron Pillar of Delhi and other sources that Indian metallurgists gained great proficiency in the extraction of metal from ore and in metal-casting, and their products were known and valued in the Roman Empire and the Middle East; but their knowledge appears to have been largely pragmatic and had no counterpart in a highly developed science of metallurgy. Chemistry in ancient India was the handmaid, not of technology, but of medicine; her chemists did not share the interest of medieval Europe in transmuting base metal into gold, but apparently devoted most of their attention to making medicines, drugs to promote longevity, aphrodisiacs, poisons, and their antidotes. These medical chemists did succeed in producing many important alkalis, acids and metallic salts by simple processes of calcination and distillation, and it has even been suggested, without good basis, that they discovered a form of gunpowder.

In the Middle Ages Indian chemists, like their counterparts in China, the Muslim World and Europe, became engrossed in the study of mercury, perhaps through contact with the Arabs. A school of alchemists arose, who experimented with the wonderful fluid metal, and decided that it was the specific for all diseases, the source of perpetual youth, and even the surest means to salvation.

In this infatuation with mercury Indian chemistry foundered, but not before it had passed many ideas on to the Arabs, who gave them to medieval Europe.

(iii) PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE

The Vedas show a very primitive stage of medical and physiological lore, but the basic text books of Indian medicine — the compendia of Charaka (1st - 2nd centuries A.D.) and Sushruta (c. 4th century A D.) — are the products of a fully evolved system which resembles those of Hippocrates and Galen in some respects, and in others had developed beyond them. We have no medical texts of the intervening period, but there is little doubt that two factors encouraged medical knowledge — the growth of interest in physiology through the phenomena of yoga and mystical experience, and Buddhism. Like the Chirstian missionary of later time the Buddhist monk often served as a doctor among the lay-folk from whom he begged his food; moreover he was encouraged to care for his own health and that of his fellow-monks, and his creed tended towards rationalism and a distrust of the medical magic of earlier times. The development of medicine was also probably stimulated by contact with Hellenic physicians, and the resemblances between Indian and classical medicine suggest borrowing on both sides After Sushruta Indian medicine developed little, except in the growing use of mercurial drugs, and of others such as opium and sarasaparilla, which were introduced by the Arabs In the essentials the system practised by the ayurvedic physician of present day India remains the same

The basic conception of Indian medicine, like that of ancient and medieval Europe, was the humours (*dosha*). Most authorities taught that health was maintained through

the even balance of the three vital fluids of the body — wind, gall and mucus, to which some added blood as a fourth humour The three primary humours were connected with the scheme of the three *gunas*, or universal qualities, and associated with virtue, passion and dullness respectively.

The bodily functions were maintained by the five "winds" (*vayu*): *udana*, emanating from the throat, and causing speech; *prana*, in the heart, and responsible for breathing and the swallowing of food ; *samana*, fanning the fire in the stomach which "cooked" or digested the food, and dividing it into its digestible and indigestible parts; *apana* in the abdomen, and responsible for excretion and procreation, and *vyana*, a generally diffused wind causing the motion of the blood and of the body generally. The food digested by the *samana* became chyle, which proceeded to the heart, and thence to the liver, where its essence was converted into blood .The blood in turn was in par converted into flesh and the process was continued through the series fat, bone, marrow and semen; the latter, when not expelled, produced energy (*ojas*), which returned to the heart and was thence diffused over the body. This process of metabolism was believed to take place in thirty days.

Ancient Indian doctors had no clear knowledge of the function of the brain, and believed with most ancient peoples that the heart was the seat of intelligence. They realized, however, the importance of the spinal cord and knew of the existence of the nervous system, though it was not properly understood. The progress of physiology and biology was impede by the taboo on contact with dead bodies, which much discouraged dissection and the study of anatomy, although such practices were not completely unknown

Despite their inaccurate knowledge of physiology, which was by no means inferior to that of most ancient peoples, India evolved a developed empirical surgery. The caesarian section was known, bone-setting reached a high degree of skill, and plastic surgery was developed far beyond anything known elsewhere at the time. Ancient Indian surgeons were expert at the repair of noses, ears and lips, lost or injured in battle or by judicial mutilation. In this respect Indian surgery remained ahead of European until the 18th century, when the surgeons of the East Indian Company were not ashamed to learn the art of rhinoplasty from the Indians.

Though Indians very early conceived of the existence of microscopic forms of life, it was never realized that these might cause diseases; but if Indian surgeons had no true idea of antisepsis or asepsis they encouraged scrupulous cleanliness as they understood it, and recognized the therapeutic value of fresh air and light. The pharmacopoeia of ancient India was very large, and comprised animal, vegetable and mineral products. Many Asiatic drugs were known and used long before their introduction into Europe, notably the oil of the chaulmugra tree, traditionally prescribed as a specific for leprosy, and still the basis of the modern treatment of the disease.

The physician was a highly respected member of society and the *vaidyas* rank high in the caste hierarchy to this day The rules of professional behaviour laid down in medical texts remind us of those of Hippocrates and are not unworthy of the conscientious doctor of any place or time. We quote part of the sermon which Charaka instructs a physician to preach to his pupils at a solemn religious ceremony to be performed on the completion of their apprenticeship.

"If you want success in your practice, wealth and fame, and heaven after your death, you must pray every day on rising and going to bed for the welfare of all beings, especially of cows and Brahmans, and you must strive with all your soul for the health of the sick. You must not betray your patients, even at the cost of your own life...... You must not get drunk or commit evil, or have evil companions .... You must be pleasant of speech . . and thoughful, always striving to improve your knowledge

"When you go to the home of a patient you should direct your words, mind, intellect and senses nowhere but to your patient and his treatment...... Nothing that happens in the house of the sick man must be told outside, nor must the patient's condition be told to anyone who might do harm by that knowledge to the patient or to another."

Under the patronage of the more benevolent kings and religious foundations free medical aid was given to the poor. Ashoka took pride in the fact that he had provided medicine for man and beast, and the traveller Fa-hien, in the early 5th century A.D. made special note of the free hospitals maintained by the donation of pious citizens Unfortunately we have no detailed descriptions of such establishments.

Veterinary medicine was also practised. The doctrine of non-violence encouraged the endowment of animal refuges and homes for sick and aged animals, and such charities are still maintained in many cities of India. The horse and elephant doctors were members of skilled and respected professions, much in demand at court, and texts on veterinary science survive from the Middle Ages.

SECTION II

SOCIETY

II

ORIGINS OF THE INDIAN VILLAGE SYSTEM

INDIAN Migration: There has been great deal of migration in ancient times, and the institution of the village community has travelled, like other things, far and wide. It is believed by some that it was by way of the Euphrates valley that the Indian village communities made their way into Europe, for their village system is exactly reproduced in that of Palestine, where at the present day the lands are every year distributed among the cultivators excatly in the way that is usual in India. It was there that they apparently first found out how to develop the local grasses into wheat and barley, good substitutes for their Indian grass developed into rice, or *ragi*. Thus it is probable that, while the domestic animals came to Europe from West Central Asia, the older staple crops may have come from South-East Asia, from Asia Minor, or Northern Palestine. Hewitt believes that the constitution of the Dravidian village community made its way to Persian Gulf through coasting voyages, and ultimately reached South-Eastern Europe. According to him, the Spartan form of government reproduces Dravidian customs, and gives, along with other evidences, an historical clue to the origin of the race. The five *ephors* are the five members of the Indian village council, called the *panchayat*, or council of five (*panch*), while the two kings are the Dravidian supreme king, judge, and law-giver, and his chief subordinate and almost co-equal, the *senapati*, lord (*pati*) of the army (*sena*), the commander-in-chief Thus the village hall of the Indian Dravidians which is found in every Dravidian village in

India, and it those of Burma, Siam and Annam, was also to be found later among the Southern Suevi or Swabians in Europe, either as a common dancing or meeting place, or as a building similar to that of the German village, owned by the community as a place for public meetings and for the entertainment of strangers It is among them that we also find, according to the descriptions of Caesar and Tacitus, that magistrates and princes in assembly divide the land annually in proportion, as in the Indian village community, while the village tenants of the lord, who have no separate and private fields with proper boundaries, each occupies his own house and pays a tribute of corn, cattle and flax The system of Indian rural economy and village settlement thus ultimately found its way into Western Europe with changes brought about by successive migrations and invasions, and there it had a different and chequered career. These are matters which cannot be finally decided before sufficient evidences in the following directions are brought together: the anthropometric affinities of racial types, the affinities in language, myth and social customs, as well as the testimony of stone, iron and wood implements in the diverse regions marked by homogeneity in physical and social types and species.

But some of the Indian evidence is sufficiently clear and definite. The *panchayats*, or the village councils, and the village or ward policemen, as well as the allotments of lands for village headmen, accountants and employees, are the most vital of the Munda-Dravidian survivals, still found wherever the social composition shows a large aboriginal admixture. The *panchayats* and communal villages have not been obscured, whether by the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga codes of property, or by the Muhammadan superimposition

of overlords, fiefs and feudal tenures, or again by the British superimposition of the rights of individual property. In Bengal the unions of villages in a circle, *mandala*, and *panchagrama*, or five villages, the officers now called the *mandalika* and the *panchagramika*, the divisions of villages and urban congregations into *parhas* and *pattis*, and the larger divisions now called *parganas*, have their original affinities to Munda institutions.

Caste Government: In the gradual process of absorption of the Munda-Dravidians by the Hindu social organization, we find survivals of their polity in the *panchayats* of almost all the non-Brahman castes. In matters of social administration, each caste is an autonomous unit, having its headman and peon, and often its vice-headman. Appeals against the decision of the village headman, whose jurisdiction extends over each endogamous subdivision of the caste or tribe in each village, are referred to a higher tribunal, consisting usually of a council of these headmen, presided over by the tribal or caste chief, or head. This tribunal exercises its authority over a number of villages, the number varying with the strength and distribution of the communities concerned. In South India the territorial jurisdiction of such a tribunal is variously known as a *nadu* or *patti*, both of which denote old tribal divisions of the Dravidians. In most castes the decisions of the second court are subject to third, or even to a fourth tribunal, the constitution of which varies with almost every caste. In some castes several *nadus* are grouped together under the jurisdiction of an officer called *pattakkaram*, *periyanattan*, *peria doraoi*, *padda ejaman*, *raja*, *gadi-nattan*, etc. Sometimes the decisions of *pattakars* are referred to a board of *pattakars* and sometimes, when Brahmanical influence is stronger, to a *guru* Such are the vestigial remains of the old Munda-Dravidian tribal

organization, seen in its purer form even to-day in Chota Nagpur, Malabar, Cochin and Coorg, with its divisions of tribal territory into a number of villages, each under its headman, its groups and unions of villages, called *parhas* or *pattis* or *nadus*, and the hierarchy of tribunals composed of the board of headmen, presided over by a chief or a raja, who still exercises a certain vague supremacy over a group of tribal divisions. Caste administration is of a strictly hierarchical character, like tribal administration, and monarchical or republican forms survive as vestiges of the older tribal types. In each caste tribunal, again, we find the two assessors selected by each party advocating each side of the case before the *panchayat*, as we find in the tribal councils among the Mundas and Oraons, for instance, in Chota Nagpur. Among almost all South Indian castes matrimonial disputes are sent, after a preliminary inquiry, by the village headman to the head of the *nadu*, who decides them with the help of a few village headmen. This is clearly a vestige of the Dravidian custom of the sanction of marriages by the chief.

VILLAGE LAND SETTLEMENT—Question of Origins : Turning to the agrarian settlement, we find that in the Munda-Dravidian village organisation *khunt* lots are divided into blocks, one for the chief's descendants, one for the *mahto's*, and one for the tribal priest's. Vestigial remains of this custom are still to be found among many Dravidian tribes and castes in the South, who still set apart the fines levied by the *panchayat* under three heads. for the *sarkar*, for the members of the *panchayat*, and for the priest. In Sandur State, Bellary, the first third is still paid into the State coffers, whence it is handed over to deserving charities Among the Pallans of South India, a fine of Rs. 1¼ is thus apportioned : 10 annas goes to the *aramanai*, i.e., palace or government; 5 annas

village has a common right. Besides these, there were the water-course, the village temple, and the village gods, which were the communal properties of the entire village. And even with regard to the arable land occupied or cultivated by the villagers which was considered to be the separate property of the joint families we find a trace of the communal right of the village in the rule that such lands could not be alienated without the consent of the entire village (*Mitakshara*, chap. I sect I). In such cases the question of origins is not easy to solve. A nearly certain test of Munda-Dravidian affinities may be found in the regional prevalence of the worship of local spirits, and the sacredness ascribed to the earth, fields, and trees. This anthropological test should be applied for discrimination between Dravidian or Aryan political forms and institutions. Again, the data furnished by Comparative Ethnology help us a great deal in finding out the gradation of social values in Aryan origin and development, and in isolating, accordingly, the distinctive features of the Aryan polity.

Aryan and Dravidian features in the Village System · Thus difficult though it may be to sift the Aryan observances and rural practices, we may yet enumerate briefly the characteristics which bear upon the evolution of the Aryan village community

(1) The Aryan settlement corresponds to the Munda-Dravidian division of tribes and villages into exogamous clans; but, unlike the latter, these are not totemistic, but, eponymous Common descent from a saint replaces connection of totem, even as the holding of land in common supersedes tribal bonds under the control of the chieftain

(2) Unlike the organisation of Munda-Dravidian settlement, which exhibits tribal government and a more or less centralised control under the divisional chieftain a

well as elected or hereditary clan-chiefs, subsequently utilised as wardens of the outlying regions and connected by feudal ties, the Aryan settlement partakes of the nature of a group of self-governing village communities bound together by common descent, and paying a share of the crop (collected at harvest-time on the village threshing-floor) to the local *raja*. The Hindu raja's portions are usually allotted by counting groups of eighty-two, forty-two, or twenty-four villages, a practice which survives in various parts of Northern India Local clan chiefs with appropriate allotments of territory pay no revenue to the *raja*, but help him in time of war. This system of chiefs in subordination to the king differs from the Western type of monistic feudalism in that they are held together by slenderest bonds, the fiefs being sometimes actually movable and unconnected with ownership of land. The king makes no claim to be owner of the soil; the chiefs exercise a co-ordinate and quasi independent jurisdiction; and both the king and his chiefs are bound together by clan-relationship. This has been the general feature in the purely Aryan settlements, as in Mewar, Oudh, and Orissa. The more evolved form of the Hindu State, or the mere local lordship of the *thakurs* or *rawats*, *rajas* or *ranas*, *talukdars* or *zamindars*, adventurous Kshatriyas or scions of noble houses in almost all parts of India, shows this peculiar type of pluralistic feudalism with its landlord estates and village communities on the Aryan clan basis.

(3) The Aryan tribal settlement brings to the fore ethnic distinction by creating two classes of villagers, the original conquerors or settlers or their descendants, and strangers or new settlers, upon whom a fee is levied. Cultivators other than the proprietary body are their tenants, though the manner in which this liability is distributed is different in different parts of the country. This distinction

between a privileged and a non-privileged class is now most marked in the Punjab, the United Provinces and Oudh and in the Rajput and Kunbi settlements in Western India. Such a distinction is always associated with conquest or usurption by superior agricultural clans, castes, and families, or with grants of lands made by rulers, and is not to be found in settlements and expansions by a gradual peaceful process where no super-imposed rights, at least as a general rule Thus develops a distinction between what Badan-Powell calls a landlord and a *ryotwari* village community.

(4) Though tribal divisions of the territory are equally marked, the Munda-Dravidian system of the allotments of land set apart for the services of the chief of the district, and the elaborately organised system of remuneration of village officers (*servi*), bondsmen, and hired labourers, are absent. Village and district officers, originally appointive, and eventually hereditary, looked after the collection of the king's share in the crop and attested any sale of village lands in the Aryan scheme

(5) The Aryan clans superimpose upon the agrarian distribution an elaborate kinship and caste organization according to which rights and duties in the village communities are determined. Lands are subdivided among the various shareholders, at first in large family subdivisions, and these again in smaller shares on inheritance according to Hindu law The proprietary body at the outset probably held their lands jointly in one or more of the forms in which joint tenure is possible, but subsequently lands were subdivided into definite family shares The *samudayam* (Sanskrit), implying collective proprietary rights, was universal throughout the Brahman settlement in the Tamil country, and still prevails in many villages in every part of it, the periodical division of the cultivated lands of the

village is not entirely forgotten in Tinnevelly, while in Tanjore Madura, Dindigul, etc, the villager still claims to participate in the common lands, tanks, irrigation channels, threshing-floors, burial-grounds, cattle-stands, etc., or to use them according to the share or parts of a share he holds in the proprietary body.

(6) The local spirits or boundary godlings, clan deities of the forest where the village clearing was made, are gradually superseded by household and village gods as well as ancestral deities, though these latter are equally important in the Munda socio-religious system. The periodical sacrifices in the village temple, which replace the older communal feasts, serve to knit together village community, and a close intercourse with strange and impure aboriginal races is avoided, though they are utilised as watch and ward, drummers, sweepers etc., in the village festivals.

(7) The Aryan village community follows the open-field system each of the equitable subdivisions of the arable allotment being often given an appropriate name from the Epics. It recognises the joint ownership among the proprietary body of the common land, which is available for partition, or for lease on behalf of the community, or is used for grazing, etc. It equalises rights as regards meadow, waste, or forest. But it recognises much more generously than the Dravidians, the sacred and inalienable rights of families and individual households, independent alike of communal laws and communal economy.

(8) As contrasted with the Dravidian promiscuity, the Indo-Aryan family stands forth before the world as free and self-supporting. Gardens or orchards are attached to individual houses, though the common forest, which is

such a marked feature in the Dravidian village community, is also to be seen.

(9) Finally, the Aryans superimpose an elaborate village-planning, stamped with ethnic distinction in the segregation of caste wards, and with the symbolism of the Puranas in the location of the presiding deities of the village and in the arrangement of village streets, courts, quadrangles and temples.

III

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE

THE feature of Indian society that strikes a foreign observer as distinctive of it is what is termed *caste*, and what Hindus call *varnashrama-dharma*. It is undoubtedly a cardinal item in our social heritage Those who speak of caste as unique overlook the natural tendency of the formation of social groups on the basis of such things as belief in a common origin, common avocations and community of interests, and for their stabilisation for common defence. Connubium and commensality are not criteria exclusively found in Indian caste. It has been so in other countries and also in ancient times. In ancient Iran the fourfold grouping into *atharva* (priest), *rathestha* (warrior), *vastrya-fsuyant* (head of the family) and *huiti* (manual worker) corresponds to the fourfold grouping of the Indian people into Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra.

The system of four *varnas* was already settled in the Vedic period. The ascription of the famous *Purushasukhta* to a later period than the other parts of the *Rigveda* does not alter the fact that the institution was already a settled fact by that time.

The origin of the *varnas* has been stated in many legends, and of the cause of differentiation in philosophical literature. The most famous of the legends is that of the *Purushasukta*. *Purusha*, who is identified with the universe (whatever has been and shall be) and the source of the Sun, the Moon, Indra, Agni and Vayu as well as the quarters, the heavens, the sky, the earth, etc, is said to have produced the Brahmana from his mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaishya from his thighs

and the Shudra from his feet This tradition is repeated by Manu (I, 31).

The purpose of the creation is stated by Manu as "the progress of the world" As described in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* (V, 10, 7) a person's birth in a particular form, as Brahmana, or Shudra depends on his *karma* in a past birth. His *varna* is thus the consequence of his own past actions. Actions in this birth will similarly determine the *varna* in which the self will incarnate in the next birth. A man's *varna* is part of the retributive justice that pursues the self from birth to birth. One cannot change his heritage by his volition; he must work it out by his *karma* in this life It is by fulfilling faithfully the duties of his *varna* and status that one may ascend in the social scale

The arrangement of the *varnas* in an order of superiority is not merely a recognition of an accomplished fact, it is a device for the future ascent of those who are now low in the scale Society made up of different cultural or spiritual levels cannot be transformed in a day The process of assimilation must necessarily be slow

In the caste system there are two features firstly birth in a *varna* is the result of the combined effect of the innate *guna* of the *self* and its action (*karma*) as moulded by the *guna* in the past births, secondly, duties are assigned to each *varna* in such a way that by sedulous discharge of them, the self may be raised to a higher plane in the next birth, and ultimately attain liberation. Translated into terms of *purusharthas*, the first *varna* stands for *Dharma*, the second and third for *Artha* and *Kama*, and the last for only animal desires (*Kama*).

We may now turn to the functions of each *varna*, as laid down in all *shastras*, and as repeated by Manu, on the authority of the Creator (I, 87-91). teaching and

study of the Veda, sacrificing for his own benefit and for others, giving and accepting gifts for the Brahmanas; protecting the people, bestowing gifts, offering sacrifices, studying the Vedas and abstaining from attaching himself to the gratification of the senses for the Kshatriya; tending cattle, bestowing gifts, offering sacrifices, studying the Vedas, trading, lending money and cultivation of land for the Vaishya; and serving without ill-feeling the other *varnas* for the Shudra

A feature to note in the prescription of duties and professions is that in every case the aim is to benefit not so much the doer as others. Teaching the Veda is economically unremunerative, as it has to be done free; he who receives money for teaching the Veda incurs a great sin The Indian teacher exacts no fees from his pupils nor does he expect them, while he treats them as members of his own family. Teacher and pupil share the alms Liberality is one of the means of expiation and of acquiring merit He who has must give freely. But he who receives gifts lowers himself. Charity blesseth him who gives, not him who takes it. Wealth is regarded as a social trust It has to be put to proper and unselfish use An agriculturist and a trader serve the community best by the zealous pursuit of their own occupations. If a Kshatriya, who represents the armed might of the community, takes to accepting gifts, the gifts may often be exactions instead of being free offerings Instead of protecting society, he will prey upon it. As the Shudra was not the slave that he might have been under other organizations, it was not possible to erect an edifice of culture, as in ancient Athens, on the foundation of slavery

In the case of intercaste marriages, those which are hypergamous, that is, the union of a man of a higher

varna with a woman of a lower *varna*, is termed *anuloma*. The union of a woman of a higher *varna* with a man of a lower *varna* is opposed to rules of decency, and is regarded as unnatural (*pratiloma*)

The *varna* system is associated with two correlated ideas Firstly, persons born in good *varnas* can maintain their position in them only by faithfully performing the duties enjoined on its members, in normal or abnormal times The penalty for failure to do so is loss of the status. The second is that the *dvija-varnas*, by failure to perform the *samskara* of investiture and initiation, within the time-limits enjoined for the performance, become *vratyas*. The latter can be rehabilitated by the performance of a ceremony of expiation (*vratyastoma*), while there are ways of the former recovering their lost status.

The inclusion of backward people or foreign tribes within the Shudra group has a two-fold significance: (1) it gives them the same opportunity as assimilation with the higher type as a real Shudra, by the imposition of the same occupations and discipline; (2) by hypothesizing a higher original *varna* (Kshatriya) for influential foreign tribes or people, it holds out to them both the lesson of the degradation that follows the neglect of enjoined moral and spiritual duties and the possibility of regaining lost ground by their own efforts to discharge such duties

Occupation can also exercise an influence on the nature of a person that is comparable to that of blood. If one of a higher *varna* (e g , Brahmana) gives up his traditional occupation and takes to that of a lower *varna* (e g a Kshatriya), a fall in his nature may be postulated. As a Brahmana is forbidden to bear arms and to become a king, one who does so, need not await the slow process

of occupational influence, but may immediately accept a lower status suited to his altered function and outlook

The transformation of the Kadamba dynasty, which started with a Brahmana, to a Kshatriya is a classical instance of the operation of the principle in demotion. The claim of foriegn dynasties to Kshatriya rank, that was conceded after some time, was obviously based on the working of an analogous principle applied not to profession but to *varna dharma*. The assimilation of a foriegn dynasty, which might be supposed to have lost its Kshatriya rank by lapse of time, by resuming Kshatriya duties and living up to its ideals of *Dharma*, to the body of Hindus becomes possible under this principle

It is popularly supposed that Brahamanas made fortunes by exacting fees from sacrificers and gifts from the pious. It is not a true view of the actual conditions. Sacrifices were costly, often required the co-operation of many priests and involved for the performance and preparations considerable time. They were of corresponding rarity. Those who speak or write glibly of the "thousands of bloody sacrifices" that Buddhism abolished, know not what they speak of In animal sacrifices the victim was usually a single animal and in many sacrifices no victim was needed.

Thus, normally, the position of typical Brahamana householder, who in a man of the virtue and learning, is that of a comparatively poor man. The Brahmana who leads a family life is one of two classes: *shalina* and *yayavara* (Baudhayana D.S., III, 1, 1,), and between the two the second is held to be morally superior to the first. The *shalina* is one who enjoyed moderate comfort, though not opulence He owns a house, has a servant, and resides permanently in a village. The *yayavara* lives as best as he can, picking grains of rice from the threshing

floor, has neither house nor fixed place of abode, does not reside in the same village for more than ten days. and rejects gifts, fe.s from teaching and *dakshinas* in sacrifice.

Occupation of the Kshatriya and Vaishya The Kshatriya's duties are to bear arms, using them to protect others, and he is a king to rule the country righteously The settlement of disputes between man and man (*vyavahara*) and maintaining every one within his Dharma (*anusasanam*) are duties of the crowned Kshatriya. and they pass on to a ruler, independently of his *varna*. The general rule of *ahimsa* is suspended in his case, for the righteous use of force in protection and punishment, according to law. One who is not a king, should follow the profession of arms A Kshatriya is prohibited to beg (Devala, in *Grihasthakanda*, p 225) The functions of the Vaishya are to breed cattle or tend them for wages. Parashara (1, 70) adds to them dealing in precious stones and work in metals Money-lending is another avocation of the Vaishya The rates of interest he can charge are stated as 12 per cent and 15 per cent, and he is allowed to charge compound interest He incurs the sin of usury if he exceeds these limits Baudhayana specifies only the lower rate

Distress Occupations It may happen that a Brahmana may not find it possible to meet the expenses of maitaining himself and of those dependent upon him, by following the occupations open to him So with other varnas. In such cases, it is open to the members of the caste to that on the duties of another. Even if the professions open to lower *varnas* are followed, they must be practised only under the ethical standards appropriate to one's own *varna*.

The Shudra's Position : Shudra disabilities have been greatly exaggerated and misunderstood. Some of the disabilties are really advantages over the other *varnas*. They have been based on the principle that strength (physical, cultural and spiritual) determines the duty and the penalty of violating duty In the attainment of common Indian aim, namely, *moksha*, the Shudra's gamut of activity towards this end is lighter, and easier He need not go through the laborious course of Vedic education with its discipline. He is redeemed not by austerity, or learning or vows, but buy *dana*, i, e , by making use of his wealth in mere charity. He is free to dwell anywhere. He is not tainted, and dose not lose his *varna* status by what he eats and drinks His rites are simple If he is so disposed he can perform, without *mantras* the five daily *yajnas*. He is not denied the sacrament of marriage. There is no lower moral code for him, the ideals he is asked to cherish and the ethical qualities that he is advised to foster are identical with those for the other *varnas* He was even allowed to become a king. He could enter the army, in emergencies The arts and crafts were open to him.

Varna-dharma : *Varnadharma* is the keystone of the arch of the Indian social scheme. It has been the foundation of Hindu society through the ages. Its roots are lost in remote antiquity. Its influence is still unextinguished. It has concerned itself with men large aggregates, not with individuals. Its scope has been universal Its purposes have been both worldly and unworldly, concerned with this life and with after-life It has proceeded on the hypothesis that life in the universe is an endless chain, revolving round the wheel of action (*karma*) It has stressed individual responsibility as well as collective. While recognizing the force of heredity, it has envisaged

its limitations and the risks of mere racial fusion, looked at simply as fusion of blood It aimed at a permanent solution of every side of the social problem; genetic, psychological, spiritual and economic. In its designation as the Caste System it has won the appreciation of discerning sociologists and students of history Their admiration has been for the elements in it which made for social balance and stability, the elasticity, which made it respond to changing needs and which kept it from disintegration in the numberless vicissitudes of foreign invasion, conflict with alien cultures and religions, and dissent within its own fold It humanized society, and spiritualized it. It made for harmonious development through co-operation of its elements. Its recognition of fundamental instincts to which man responds by his activity, and its scheme for canalizing and transforming them to common purposes through the system of *ashramas* so as to raise both the individual and the mass, made for its success.

The praise of the system should be considered side by side with criticism levelled against it. In such criticisms, its has been usual to describe the *varna* system and the rules of *varna-dharma*, as the fabrications of Brahmanas to gain to overlordship, and to ascribe the origin of the system to writers like Manu The criticism loses sight of certain facts. The roots of the *varna* classification go bank to hoary actiquity The tendency for the formation of classes is natural, and almost universal. Ascription of the system to Brahmana ambition and selfishness loses sight of fundamental features of the system, and consequent weakness in its own hypothesis. In every case where a Brahmana became a king the act was stigmatized as an usurpation and a violation of *Dharma*, and reprobated by the very community from which the usurpers

came. To Bana, Pushyamitra was not even an Arya, because of his seizing a throne. In the case of the Kadamba and Vakataka dynasties, which claimed a Brahmana origin, the seizure of thrones reduced their caste rank, led to inter-marriage with even non-Kshatriya princes like the Guptas, and showed the limits of their social demotion for violating their *varna-dharma* The Peshwas never claimed to be kings, but kept, like the *defacto* rulers of modern Nepal* only the rank of ministers whose appointments still needed the approval of titular Kshatriya kings. The Brahmanas were not an organized body, with a hierarchy of offices, like the Christian Church or even the Buddhist *Sangha.* They had no wealth, and no territorial power to back any claims they might put forward for lordship.

Rather must the success of the scheme be sought in its own inherent qualities. Unless it satisfied all its component elements it could not have survived. If those at the head of the scheme had freed themselves from its rules, they could not have continued to wield any influence. The scheme of *varnas* lived, served and survived because it was based on a reasoned philosophy of existence, of rational perception of the strength of instincts, and of the possibility of conserving them by heredity.

Ashrams: In *Manusmriti* the *ashramas* are made sequential in the order of their enumeration by it. It indicates for each one-quarter of the span of human life: the first is to be devoted to *brahmacharya* (IV, 1) dwelling with the teacher, the second to *grihasthya* (family life), the third (which [is to be accepted only when the hair begins to turn grey, wrinkles appear on the skin and sons have been born to sons, VI, 2) to forest life, and the last to cutting away

* Before the present regime

from society altogether by becoming a mendicant ascetic. No one can become an ascetic without undergoing the full period of studentship, even in this view The interpretation is criticised on the ground that the Vedic injunctions to perform all one's life the *Agnihotra*, and to repay the triple natal debt can be discharged only in family life, which cannot therefore be skipped It may be noted that the apologists for the short-cut to *sannyasa* support their plea on the ground that some are constitutionally desireless and ascetic in temperament, and to such persons entry into the last *ashrama* after finishing the first is permissible. The verse of Manu (VI, 38), which appears to give an option is really a description of the ritual for abandoning the house-holder's life

It would be interesting to note the importance assigned to education in ancient Indian social thought. Education came first. It was every one's birthright If *vidyarambha* was the beginning of literacy, *upanayana* marks the induction into sacred and redeeming lore The training for other *varna* functions like direction and teaching for the Brahmana, protection for the Kshatriya, and productive activity for the Vaishya are involved as corollaries to the education that starts with both the ceremonies.

Receptiveness to the urge of social duty is what Hindu educational discipline aimed at. The boy was made from the beginning to realize his dependence on others for both material sustenance and for moral and spiritual food The rule that marriage should come *after* the completion of education, in the case of *dvijas*, carried the implication 'that those on whom the main duties of bearing the burden of the community fell, namely, the householders, should not remain an uneducated or untrained section. In Manu's system no citizen at

least no *dvija*, can remain uneducated, undisciplined and impervious to his social and spiritual duties. In both a narrower and a broader sense, education, according to the smritis, implied a *complete* training. In the larger sense, it was held to comprehend all the preparatory processes for making the body, the mind and the spirit respond to the call for the task of moulding activity to the ultimate end of existence.

The body must be sanctified for the residence of the purified self. The *samskaras*, which punctuate life, are designed to this end. Manu (II, 18) is clear on the point. If this human frame is to be made a suitable mansion for the Soul, the preparation must be made with the holy rites laid down by the Vedas, in the due performance of the rites of sacrament like *garbhadhana*, the *homas* during pregnancy, the *jatakarma*, *chaula* and initiatory ceremony. They remove the taint received from both the parents at birth, and the self must be made fit by the study of the Vedas, by the practice of vows, by *homas*, by the acquisition of Vedic learning, by offerings to the gods, sages and the manes, by begetting sons, by performing the great sacrifices and by Shrauta rites. The ascetic habits of studentship which anticipate the greater rigours of the last two *ashramas*, and the discipline of vows (*vrata*) spread throughout family life, mark the beginning of the process of the sublimation of body and spirit, which is the purpose of lifelong education of both (*Manu*, II, 26-28).

The significant change in the position of the Brahmacharin that *upanayana* brings about may be seen from a few results. During studentship, the student is cut off from his family. His is a life of dedication for study and service to the teacher.

The intimate relationship established between the teacher and pupil is indicated by both being regarded in fact as members of the same family. Misconduct with a teacher's wife is an inexpiable sin, equal to the worst form of incest The teacher and pupil observe death pollution if one of them dies. They can inherit one another. Speaking ill of a teacher is like doing so of one's parents. The terms of affection established between them is indicated by the teacher repeating towards the pupil, during *upanayana* virtually the same formula of address, as the bridegroom uses towards the bride "I place thy heart unto duty to me; may thy mind follow my mind, may thou attend on my words single-mindedly, may Brihaspati appoint thee unto me" (In the formula used by the husband Prajapati is substituted for Brihaspati). The relationship is permanent Casting off one's teacher is not merely indecorous and ungrateful; it is an offence Each lesson begins with a benediction and prayer which both recite, and which symbolizes their union.

Marriage · In a popular view, one becomes a *grihastha* only in order to marry. This is an inversion of the truth. He marries to become a *grihastha*, as competence for many religious acts springs only from the association of husband and wife. The birth of the child completes marriage, by fulfilling its primary objects The Hindu unit of society is a triad, consisting of fathar, mother and son. On the completion of *brahmacharya* and the lustral bath, one is qualified to beeome a householder, and it is only by taking a wife of his own *varna* in accordance with *Dharma*, that he can set up as a householder In the pilgrimage through life that is, of worldly activity, the companionship of the wife is necessary not only for happiness and the satisfaction of desire, but for the performance of enjoined rites and for the *full* discharge of the duties of the new *ashrama*. For religious duties

marriage is necessary, and a single marriage, resulting in the birth of a son, is sufficient to meet the requirements. This is why smritis view with disfavour the taking of more than one wife Apastamba prohibits the taking of a second wife by a *grihastha*, who has already a wife who has borne him a son (II, 11, 12-13). From the standpoint of religious obligation, a second marriage is pointless and unnecessary. The satisfaction of the sex-urge in a lawful way is but one of the many gains of marriage, as pointed out by Manu (IX, 28) progeny, life-long service, the highest pleasure, and heaven for himself and his ancestors are the gains.

The religious obligation to marry lies on both sexes The strict rules restricting begging to stated occasions and purposes are relaxed in favour of a Brahmana soliciting help for his marriage expenses (XI, 1), but it must be only for his first marriage If he has a wife already, and gets help for marrying a second wife, it will be only help given to procure him sensual gratification, and donor and donee lose the merit of the gift (XI, 5). This is a discouragement of polygamy, which Manu, like other smriti writers, views with disapproval, though he could not prohibit it altogether, as it was an old but disappearing custom. Its survival is shown by the rules regarding seniority among wives of equal caste, and of the rule that all the wives are mothers if one ot them begets a son (IX, 183) Marriage is eternal, and neither by repudiation can a wife be released from the marriage tie (IX, 46), and he who takes such a woman cannot become her husband. The sale of a wife is sinful (XI, 62). If a wife bears no son, the marriage is, from the religious standpoint, a failure, and a husband will be at liberty to take another wife, but the first wife cannot be put away, after the second marriage, or lose the right to act in all sacramental functions with her husband. A barren wife can be super-

seded only after seven years, she whose children have all died in the tenth, and she who bears only daughters in the eleventh year. A wife of character, who is an invalid, cannot be superseded or disgraced without her own consent.

Some aspects of marriage should be noted Its primary aims are neither worldly nor carnal. As a bride is required by an accomplished student to enable him to set up as a householder and establish the fires, the gift of a bride is the greatest of all gifts. It must be made without expectation of any return If conditions are imposed, they must be only for the fulfilment of the sacramental purposes of the union They are stated in *kanyadana*. The sale of a bride, i e., accepting a bride-price is *asura*, not *dharmika*. The ceremony of marriage involves two main steps: the gift of the bride and the subsequent ceremony of *udvaha* To both are ascribed "unseen fruits" There is no contract between bride and bridegroom in a marriage This is why it cannot be annulled by any human power. Manu does not recognize divorce. The bond that ties the wife and husband is not snapped, even if he sells or abandons her (IX, 46). It is open to a wife to show aversion to a demented, impotent, or leprous or outcast husband (IX, 79). Manu, who disallows the remarriage of a widow (V. 162, IX, 65), appears to allow the re-marriage *in proper form* of a virgin widow (IX, 176), but she will still be held to be a *punarbhu*. Kautilya, who allows divorce, will not permit it for the first four forms of marriage (the reputable forms) As these are the common forms, it is tantamount to a rejection

Position of women: Dharmashastra raised a chaste wife to the rank of a goddess, it has raised the mother to the rank of divinity, along with the teacher and the father, and placed them immeasurably below her in the right to love and veneration (II, 145). She is the best of teachers, and a

Superteacher according to *Vishnusmriti* (XXXI, 1-2) So long as one has a mother he never feels old (*Mahabharata*, XIII, 268, 30). Abandoning a mother, even if she be an outcaste, is both a sin (III, 157, XI, 60) and a crime (VIII, 389) The first earnings of the student must be tendered to his mother (Apastamba, I, 7. 15).

In *Manusmriti* women attains her apotheosis, as wife, mother and dependent relation, serving and radiating her love. The gods rejoice when women are honoured, and rites in their honour yield no rewards in homes in which women are not cherished and revered. The tears of dependent women blight a family, their grateful smiles make it blossom into fortune; their curse, when treated with contumely, withers the home. Honour and cherish your women, therefore, for your own good, on holidays and in festivals, with gifts of dainty fare, raiment and jewels! Joy dwells in the home in which there is conjugal love Let a women cherish her beauty that she may retain her husband's love and become fruitful. With her radiance the house will be alit, and without it, be dark and dismal. It is in such terms that Manu, supposed to be the derider of woman, makes almost a religion of her adoration.

Indian society was kept from disintegration by the sublime conception of the scheme of *varna* and *ashrama*, which gave its women and men a clear vision of the spiritual winning post, and showed them how to order their lives and mould their actions in order that they may, in the fulness of time or even in this life itself, triumphantly reach it

IV

SAMANYA DHARMA

DHARMASHASTRA: Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmashastra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sutras of Gautama, Baudhayana, Apastamba and Vasishtha deal in greater or less detail principally with the following subjects. the several *varnas* (classes) *ashramas* (stages of life), their privileges, obligations and responsibilities, the *samskaras* performed on an individual (from *garbhadhana* to *antyeshti*), the duties of the *brahmacharin* (the first *ashrama*); *anadhyayas* (holidays on which Vedic study was stopped), the duties of a *snataka* (one who has finished the first stage of life), *vivaha* (marriage) and all matters connected there-with; the duties of the *grihastha* (householder's stage); *shaucha* (daily purification of body); the five daily *yajnas*; *dana* (gifts), *bhakshyabhakshya* (what food should one partake of and what not); *shuddhi* (purfication of persons, vessels, clothes, etc.); *ashaucha* (impurity on birth and death); *antyeshti* (rites on death); *shraddha* (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); and *stridharma* (special duties of women) and *stripumdharma* (duties of husband and wife); *dharmas* of Kshatriyas and of kings, *vyavahara* (judicial procedure, and the sphere of substantive law such as crimes and punishments, contracts, partition and inheritance, adoption, gambling, etc), the four principal classes, mixed castes and their proper avocations; *apaddharma* (actions and avocations permitted to the several castes in extreme difficulties), *prayashchitta* (sins and how to expiate them); *karmavipaka* (results of evil deeds done in past lives); *shanti* (rites on the happening of

portents or for propitiating the planets, etc.); duties of *vanaprashtha* (forest hermit) and *sannyasin* (ascetic).

Dharma: A glance at the above list will convince anyone how the conception of *dharma* was a far-reaching one, how it embraced the whole life of man. The writers on Dharmashastra meant by *dharma* not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence

Some works divide *dharma* into *shrauta* (Vedic), *smarta* (based upon smritis) and *shishtachara* (the actions of the respected in society). This classification is based on the three sources of *dharma*, *viz*, *shruti*, *smriti* and *shishtachara*, as observed by Baudhayana. Another and more comprehensive classification says that *dharma* is six-fold, *viz*, *dharma* of *varnas* (injunctions based on *varna* alone such as 'a Brahmana should never drink wine' or 'a Brahmana should not be killed'), *ashramadharma* (such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmachari), *varnashrama-dharma* (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular class and is in a particular stage of life, such as 'a Brahmana *brahmachari* should carry a staff of *palasha* tree'), *guna-dharma* (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), *naimittika dharma* (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), *sadharana dharma* (what is common to all humanity, *viz*, *ahimsa* and other virtues). It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except *sadharana* or *samanya dharma* have *varna* and *ashrama* as the pivots round which the whole of Dharmashastra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient smritis like those of Manu (1.2 and 107) and Yajnavalkya (I 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders

of those codes to impart to them instruction in the *dharmas* of *varnas* and *ashramas*.

Before embarking upon any treatment of *varnas* it would not be out of place to say a few words about *dharmas* common to all humanity From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. *Rigveda* (VII. 104.12) says: "True speech and false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straightforward and strikes down what is false" The conception of *rita* in the *Rigveda* is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of *dharma*. The *Shatapatha-Brahmana* (S B.E. vol. 44, p. 85) enjoins "therefore let a man speak naught but truth". In the *Taittiriyopanishad* (I.II.1), the teacher when taking leave of his pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood places truth in the fore front of his exhortation and *dharma* next. In the *Chhandogya* (III 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the *dakshina* (fee to be paid) is fivefold, viz., the five virtues of *tapas* (asceticism), *dana* (charity), *arjava* (straightforwardness), *ahimsa* (noninjury to sentient beings), *satyavachana* (truthfulness). The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* remarks that truth and *dharma* are in practical life identical terms. One of the noblest prayers in all literature occurs in the *Brihadaranyak Upanishad* (I.3.28). "From falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness lead me unto light, from death lead me unto immortality." The *Mundakopanishad* says "Only truth is victorious and not falsehood; the path of the gods is spread out by (the pursuit of) truth". The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* inculcates on all the great need of three cardinal virtues, *viz*, self-restraint, *daya* (compassion or love for all sentient life) and *dana* (gifts or charity). The *Chhandogya Upanishad* says that the world of Brahman is free from all evil and only those who

have lived as chaste students can enter the world of Brahman. The *Chhandogya Upanishad* (V. 10) sternly condemns five sins, *viz*, theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a Brahmana, defiling of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and (in V. 11 5) Ashvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. The *Kathopanishad* (1.2.23) insists upon cessation from evil conduct, peace of mind and concentration as essential for the seeker after the Self. The *Udyogaparva* (43.20ff) speaks of the twelve *vratas* (vows or rules of conduct) for Brahmanas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is *danta* (self-controlled). *Shanti-parva* (160) contains an eulogy of *dama* (self-control) *Shanti-parva* (162 7) describes how *satya* has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal *dharma* of the good The *Gautamadharmasutra* (VIII 24-26) holds that *daya* (compassion or love for all beings), *kshanti* (forbearance), *anasuya* (freedom from envy), *shaucha* (purity of body, speech and thought), *anayasa* (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), *mangala* (doing what is commended), *akarpanya* (not demeaning oneself before others), *aspriha* (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others) are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahman and reaches the world of Brahman, though he may not have all the other forty *samskaras*, while he who has all the forty *samskaras* but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahman Vasishtha (X. 30) says that avoiding back-biting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion anger and envy is the *dharma* of all *ashramas* and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation 'practise *dharma*

(righteousness) and not *adharma*, speak the truth and not untruth, look far ahead, not near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. *Apastamba Dharmasutra* (I 8 23. 3-6) calls upon all *ashramas* to eradicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the opposite virtues and gives long lists of both.

This shows that in the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purificatory and other religious ceremonies ranked according to Gautama and other writers very low and the highest value attached to the moral qualities of the soul. There is no elaborate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell the truth or abstain from *himsa* (injury to sentient beings) and cultivate other high moral qualities But it should not be supposed that no indications whatever are given of the reasons why this should be done.

Two principles emerge if we closely examine the texts. In the midst of countless rules of outward conduct there is always insistence on the necessity to satisfy the inner man (*antarapurusa*) or conscience Manu (IV. 161) says: "Assiduously do that which will give satisfaction to the *antaratman*" (inner self); (IV 239); "No parents, nor wife, nor sons will be a man's friends in the next world; but only righteousness". "Gods and the inner man mark the sinful acts" (*Vanaparva*, 207-54 and Manu, VIII, 85, 91-92. Vide also *Adiparva*, 74 28-29, Manu, VIII. 86, *Anushasanaparva*, 2 73-74). The reason given for cultivating such virtues as *daya ahimsa* is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words *tat-tvam-asi*'. 'This is the highest point reached in Indian metaphysics and combines morality and metaphysics That doctrine requires us to regard the goodness or badness of one's actions from the standpoint of other individuals who will be affected by such actions. Daksha (III. 22) declares:

Manu (II. 4), like Aristotle in the first sentence of his Politics, says that the end of all activity is some presumed good. Manu further says (V 56) that the natural proclivity of all beings is to hanker after the satisfaction of the common and lower desires of hunger, thirst and sexual gratification and therefore no stress is to be placed on them but on the cessation or curbing of these. The Upanishads recognise the distinction between what is beneficial (*hita*) and what is most beneficial (*hitatama*). *Shantiparva* (288. 20 and 330. 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is '*satya*'.

The *Mitakshara* on Yajnavalkya I. 1) remarks that *ahimsa* and other qualities are the *dharma* common to all including even Chandalas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. *Shankhasmriti* (1 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all *varnas*. The *Mahabharata* says that three are the best qualities among all beings, *viz.*, absence of enmity, truthfulness and freedom from anger and in another place says that the best *vrata* (vow) for a man is threefold, *viz*, he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasishtha (IV 4) says that truthfulness, freedom from anger. generosity, *ahimsa* (non-injury) and procreation of offspiring are (the common *dharma*) of all (*varnas*).

Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Shudra has to submit himself to the *dharma* of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that *ahimsa*, truthfulness, no wrongful takings of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common *dharmas* of all *varnas*. Manu (IV. 175) calls upon all

to take delight in truth, in *dharma*, in conduct worthy of an Arya and in purity

In the 3rd century B C the remarkable Emperor Ashoka inscribed on stone in all parts of his empire the following list of virtues: compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness peace, joyousness, saintliness, and self-control, which bear a close resemblance to Gautama's list and even to a later list of St. Paul (vide Pillar Edicts II and VII in *E. I*, Vol. II, p. 249 and p 272).

Yajnavalkya (I. 122) mentions nine qualities as the means of securing *dharma* for all (from the Brahmana to the Chandala). The *Mahabharata* says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth with others, forbearance, procreation (of children) from one's wife (alone) purity, absence of enmity, straightforwardness, maintaining persons dependent on oneself, these nine are the duties of all *varnas*. The *Vamanapurana* says that tenfold *dharma* is common to all and names these ten as *ahimsa*, *satya*, *asteya*, *dana*, forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, *tapas* Hemadri (*Vratakhanda*, pp 7 8) quotes several passages from the *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta* and *Vishnudharmottara* for several *sadharana dharmas* (virtues common to all *varnas* and *ashramas*), The *Vishnudharmasutra* enumerates fourteen qualities as *samanyadharma*

The foregoing discussion establishes that all *Dharmashastra* writers attached the highest importance to moral qualities and enjoined them upon all with all the emphasis they could command; but as their main purpose was a practical one, *viz.*, to guide people to right acts in everyday life, they dealt more elaborately with the acts, rites and ceremonies that each person had to do with reference to his station in society. They are therefore found principally

concerning themselves with *varnashrama-dharma* and not with *sadharana-dharma* (i. e , duties common to all alike).

Aryavarta . One important question that is very much canvassed in works on Dharmashastra is about the country or territory which should be called Aryavarta or which was a fit habitation for those who called themselves the followers of the Vedic religion. Therefore a few words on this subject would be quite relevant. The *Rigveda* shows that the centre of Aryan culture in the times of the *Rigveda* was the land of the seven rivers, *viz.* North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubha (the Kabul river, in Rg. V. 53. 9; 76. 6), Krumu (the modern Kurram, *Rg.* V. 53 9, X. 75 6), Suvastu (modern Swat, in *Rg.* VIII 19. 37), the seven Sindhus (*Rg.* II. 12 12, IV. 28 1, VIII 24. 27. X. 43. 3) upto the Yamuna (*Rg.* V. 52. 17. 75 5), the Ganga (*Rg.* VI. 45 31, X. 75. 5) and Sarayu (probably in modern Oudh, in *Rg.* IV. 30. 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the *Rigveda*. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned :—Sindhu (*Rg* II. 15 6 'he hade the Sindhu flow northwards,' *Rg* V. 53. 9, *Rg.* IV. 30. 12, *Rg.* VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in 'he Sindhu, in the Asikni, in the seas and on mountains), Asikni (*Rg.* VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Parushni (*Rg.* IV. 22. 2, V. 52 9), Vipash and Shutudri (*Rg.* III 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipash alone in *Rg* IV. 30. 12, Shutudri alone in *Rg.* X. 75. 5, Drishadvati, Apaya and Sarasvati (as very holy in *Rg.* III. 23. 4), Sarasvati alone (*Rg.* VII 95, the whole hymn is addressed to her of which verse 2 says she springs from the mountains ; *Rg.* VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says she has seven sisters), Gomati (*Rg.* VIII. 24. 30, X. 75 6), Vitasta (*Rg.* X. 75. 4).

Gradually the Aryans spread southwards and eastwards. The *Kathaka Samhita* (X. 6) speaks of Kuru Panchalas.

In the Brahmanas the centre of Aryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Panchalas and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the *Shatapatha Brahmana* remarks that in the lands of Kuru-Panchalas speech is at its best In *Shatapatha Brahmana* (XI. 4. 1 1) Uddalaka Aruni is called a *Kuru-Panchala* Brahmana and contrasted with Brahmanas of the north (S. B. E. vol 44, p. 51). Similarly the *Kaushitaki Brahmana* (VII 6) remarks that those who want to learn (best) speech go northwards or wait upon him who comes from that direction. In the *Shatapatha* we have the story of Videha Mathava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadanira that came down from the Himalaya, and settled to the east of that river, where the country was a cultivated and civilized one in the times of that work, while in former ages it had been uncultivated (1. 4 1, 4–17, S. B. E. vol. 12, pp. 105-106).

Even in the Buddhist Jatakas we see that being '*udichcha Brahmano*' was a source of great pride (vide Fick's work, p. 40).

The *Taittiriya-Brahmana* speaks of the *vedi* of the gods as being in Kuru-kshetra Even in the *Rigveda* itself the country through which the rivers Drishadvati, Apaya and Sarasvati flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4) The *Taittiriya Brahmana* says that the Kuru-Panchalas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upanishads also the Kuru-Panchala country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place.

The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (III 1. 1) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the Brahmanas of Kuru-Panchala flocked there in large numbers

(Vide also *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* III. 3. 19). The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (VI. 2. 1) and *Chhandogya* (V. 3. 1) say that Shvetaketu went to the assembly of the Panchalas *Kaushitaki*, and *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (IV. 1) names the countries of Ushinara, Matsya, Kuru-Panchala, and Kashivideha as centres of intellectual activity and (in II. 13) refers to two mountains in the North and the other in the South (meaning probably Himavat and Vindhya).

According to the *Nirukta* (II. 2), the country of Kamboja was outside the limits of the country of Aryas, though the language spoken there seems to have been the same. The *Mahabhashya* lends support to this and adds that Surashtra was not an Arya country.

In the times of the Dharmasutras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Aryavarta. The *Vasishthadharma-sutra* says, "Aryavarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvati in the desert), to the west of Kalakavana, to the north of the mountains Pariyatra and Vindhya and to the south of the Himalaya."

The *Manusmriti* (II. 17-24) defines *Brahmavarta* as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati, says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called *sadachara*, that the countries of Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchala and the Shurasena are styled *Brahmarshidesha* and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmavarta, that Madhyadesha is between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinashana and to the west of Prayaga, that Aryavarta is the country between the Himalaya and Vindhya up to the eastern and western oceans, that the territory where the black antelope roams about naturally is the country fit for sacrifices and the

countries beyond constitute Mlechchhadesha, that men of the three higher *varnas* should endeavour to live in these countries (*viz.* Brahmavarta, Brahmarshidesha, Madhyadesha, Aryavarta, & c.) while a Shudra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The *Vishnudharmasutra* (84 4) says that the country where the system of the four *varnas* is not established is to be known as Mlechchha country and Aryavarta is beyond that. This is explained by Apararka (p. 5) as follows: One who desires to practise Vedic religion should live in one of the four countries, *viz.* Brahmavarta and others; if that is not possible, then in a country where there is establishment of the four *varnas* and the black antelope roams about naturally, if both these cannot be had, then one should dwell in a country where at least one of the two (*chaturvarnya* or black antelope) is found. Gradually however as Aryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Aryan had to be given up Medhatithi on Manu (II 22) explains that Aryavarta is so called "because Aryas again and again spring up there and because the Mlechchhas even if they overrun it from time to time do not abide there for long" and then makes the following very sensible observation (on II. 23). "If a Kshatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlechchhas, establish the system of four *varnas* (in the Mlechchha country) and assign to Mlechchha a position similar to that of Chandalas in Aryavarta, even that (Mlechchha) country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices, since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact (of impure persons or things)". As a result of the spread of Aryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Aryan tribes on the northwest, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab

came to be looked upon in the whirling of time unworthy of the Arya to live in. The *Karnaparva* (43. 5-8) abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and *dharmabahya*.

Bharatavarsha: Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Puranas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarsha. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela (2nd century B.C.) as Bharadhavasha. The *Markandeyapurana* says that Bharatavarsha has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himalaya on the north. The *Vishnupurana* (II. 3 1) says the same and *Matsya* (114. 10) and *Vayu* define Bharatavarsha as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganga. Shabara (not later than 5th century A.D.) in his *bhashya* on Jaimani (X. 1. 35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. Paithinasi as quoted in the *Paribhasha-prakasha* (p 58) says that *dharma* is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. According to *Markandeya* (53 41), *Vayu* (vol I, chap. 33-52) and other Puranas, Bharatavarsha is so called after Bharata, son of Risabha descendant of Svayambhuva Manu; while *Vayu* (vol. II, chap. 37 130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarsha is so called after Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Shakuntala. The *Vishnupurana* says that after thousands of births a person secures life as a human being in Bharatavarsha and this land is called *Karmabhumi* (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation. The *Vayupurana* says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarsha is *karma* prescribed for mortals.

V

RAJADHARMA

THE king and his duties · Rajadharma has been a subject of discussion in works on Dharmashastra from very ancient times The *Apastamba Dharmasutra* says: "The general and special *dharmas* of all *varnas* have been explained; but now we shall declare the *dharmas* of a king in particular." Apastamba then states that the king should cause to be built a capital and a palace, the gates of which both should face the south; that the palace should be in the heart of the capital; that in front of the capital there was to be a hall called *amantrana* (hall of invitation); that to the south of the town there was to be an assembly house with doors on the north and south. Apastamba requires that in the king's realm no Brahmana should suffer hunger, sickness, cold or heat; Apastamba gives regulations about the assembly house and about persons who were to be allowed to engage in gambling, he prescribes that (the exercise in) arms, dancing, singing and music should not go on anywhere except in the houses of the king's servants, that the king was to see that there was no danger from thieves in villages and forests; that the king should donate fields and money to Brahmanas according to their worth without detriment to his servants. that the king who meets death in recovering the property of Brahmanas and other warlike persons who meet death in fighting for a similar worthy cause reap the merit of a sacrifice (i e. reach heaven as reward); that the king should appoint in towns and villages officers and their subordinates, who are pure and truthful, for the protection of the subjects against thieves and who are to be

made to make good what is stolen; that they are to collect lawful taxes for the king from the people except from learned Brahmanas, women of all castes, minors, students staying with teachers and ascetics fulfilling the rules of their order, Shudras who do menial work for the higher castes (such as washing their feet), persons that are blind, deaf or dumb Apastamba then lays punishments for adultery and rape, for slander and defamation, for manslaughter, for theft and appropriation of another's land, for breach of contract to cultivate the field of another, for a herdsman leaving his herd or negligently allowing it to perish. He states that if the king does not punish the guilty he incurs sin, that in disputes judges should be men of learning, clever and fulfilling their duties, that witnesses were to tell the truth and were to be punished if they be untruthful.

It will be noticed how Apastamba briefly covers the whole field of Rajadharma. In the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata*, Rajadharma is dealt with at great length in chapters 56-130 and to some extent in 131-172. The *Manusmriti* also states at the beginning of chapter VII (1) that it will expound Rajadharma. That great literary activity on the science and art of government went on for many centuries before the Christian era follows from several considerations.

Books on polity: The *Anushasanaparva* (chap 39 8) speaks of the shastras composed by Brihaspati and Ushanas The *Shantiparva* (58 1-3) names as expounders of Rajashastra Brihaspati, Bharadvaja, Gaurashiras, Kavya, Mahendra, Manu Prachetasa and Vishalaksha. *Shantiparva* (102. 31-32) opposes the view of Shabara to that of acharyas. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya mentions five schools (*viz*. those of the Manavas, the Barhaspatyas, the Aushanasas, the Parasharas and the Ambhiyas),

seven individual teachers (V 5, and I 8) only once (*viz.* Bahudantiputra, Dirgha, Charayana, Ghotamukha, Kanınka Bharadvaja, Katyayana, Kinjalka, Pishunaputra) and several times mentions the views of Bharadvaja, Kaunapadanta, Parashara, Pishuna, Vatavyadhi, Vishalaksha. Kautilya also cites at least fifty-three times the views of acharyas, almost in every case for dissent. *Shantiparva* (103.44) refers to a Bhashya on Rajashastra. Is it possible to see in this a reference to one out of the *bhashyakaras* indicated in the verse appended at the end of the *Kautiliya* or to the *Kautiliya* itself?

Another fact indicative of the systematization of the science of government is that in the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, Manu and Kautilya ideas expressed by numbers had already been stereotyped long before those works were written, such as *saptanga rajya* (state with seven constituent elements), *shadgunya* (the six ways of policy, *viz.* alliance, declaration of war, etc), three *shaktis*, the four *upayas* (*sama*, *dana*, *bheda danda*), *ashtavarga*, and *panchavarga* (Manu, VII 155), the 18 and 15 *tirthas* (*Sabhaparva* 5.38).

Dharma and Rajadharma · The fulfilment of their duties and responsibilities by rulers was of paramount importance to the stability and orderly development of society and to the happiness of individuals in the State and therefore one often finds that Rajadharma is said to be the root of or the quintessence of all *dharmas*. *Shantiparva* (63 25) states, "know that all *dharmas* are merged in Rajadharma; that Rajadharmas are at the head of all *dharmas*" and (141 9-10) "the welfare, good rains, sickness, calamities and death among people owe their origin to the king" It was the king's duty to see that the people in the kingdom acted according to the rules laid down in the smritis for the several *varnas* and *ashramas*, to administer justice

and to interfere when his help was sought for by a *parishad* (assembly of learned men) in enforcing the *Prayashchitta* (penance) prescribed for vaious lapses. Therefore it may be said with truth (as done by the *Mahabharata*) that Rajadharma was the highest goal of all the world, that it comprehended within itself all rules of *achara*, *vyavahara* (administration of justice) and *prayashchitta* (penance). It is on account of this all pervading influence of government or royal power that the *Mahabharata* frequently emphasizes that the king is the maker of his age, that it is he who can usher a golden age or an age of strife and misery for the country. The *Shukranitisara* (I. 59-60) remarks that one should learn from shastra what are good and evil actions, give up evil deeds and perform good ones and that the king is hence declared to be the cause of (good or evil) times according as he does good or evil acts. Shukra (IV. 1 160) states that the king is the prompter of his age.

Books on polity: their origin: Though Rajadharma was thus an integral part of Dharmashastra and was one of the most important subjects therein, yet apart from the works on Dharmashastra separate treatises dealing with Rajadharma alone came into existence in very early times. *Shantiparva* (chap 59) states that originally in the Krita age there was no king nor punishment, that then *moha* (delusion), greed and lust entered men, that in order to provide against the complete destruction of *dharma*, Brahma composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha* (verses 30 and 79); that part of this work on *Niti* (science of government) was abridged by Shankara Vishalaksha (verse 80),— and so it was called *Vaishalaksha*— into 10,000 chapters that Indra studied it and reduced it to 5,000 chapters (and the work was called *Bahudantaka*, verse 83), that it was compressed into 3,000 chapters by Brihaspati

(and so was called *Barhaspatya*) and that Kavya (Ushanas) reduced the work to 1,000 chapters. The *Kamasutra* (I. 5-8) contains a somewhat similar story that Prajapati composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters, that Manu abridged it as regards *dharma*, Brihaspati as regards *artha* and Nandi abridged in 1,000 chapters the science of erotics. The *Shantiparva* (69) gives (verses 33-74) a summary of the contents of the work of Brahma on Rajadharma which remarkably agrees with the principal topics of the Kautiliya.

The *Nitiprakashika* (I. 21-22) states that Brahma, Maheshvara, Skanda, Indra, Prachetasa Manu, Brihaspati, Shukra, Bharadvaja, Veda Vyasa and Gaurashiras were the expounders of Rajashastra, that Brahma composed a work on Rajashastra in 100,000 chapters, which was gradually reduced in size by each of the above-mentioned founders until Gaurashiras reduced it to 500 chapters and Vyasa to 300 The *Shukranitisara* (I. 2-4) states that Brahma composed Nitishastra in 100,000 verses, which was subsequently abridged by Vasishtha and others (including Shukra)

Danda and Dandaniti It is interesting to note the names given to the science of government. The most appropriate word is 'Rajashastra' and it is employed by the *Mahabharata*, which speaks of Brihaspati, Bharadvaja and others as "*Rajashastra-pranetarah*'. The *Nitiprakashika* (I 21-22) also dubs the divine and human writers on government "*Rajashastranam pranetarah*" The same word is employed by such ancient classical writers as Ashvaghosha in his *Buddhacharita* (I 46). The first verse in Prof. Edgerton's reconstructed *Panchatantra* performs obeisance to Manu, Brihaspati, Shukra, Parashara and his son and Chanakya as the authors of Nripashastra (science of kingship). Another name is Dandaniti The *Shantiparva* (59 78),

explains why Dandaniti is so called, *viz.*, "this world is led (on to the right path) by Danda (the power of punishment, sanction) or this science carries (or sets forth) the rod of punishment; hence it is called Dandaniti and it (faces) pervades the three worlds". In *Shantiparva* (69.76) it is stated that "Dandaniti controls the four *varnas* so as to lead them on to the performance of their duties and when it is employed by the ruler properly, it makes them desist from *adharma*". *Shantiparva* (63 28) identifies Dandaniti with Rajadharma. The *Kautilya* (I. 4) explains: "Danda is the means of the stability and welfare of Anvikshiki, Trayi (the three Vedas) and Varta; the rules that treat of Danda are called Dandaniti, which is a means of acquiring what has not been acquired, which safeguards what is acquired, which increases what is guarded and distributes (increased wealth) among the deserving." The *Mahabharata* says (*Shantiparva*, 69.102) that a wise Kshatriya, putting Dandaniti in front, should always desire to acquire what is till then unacquired and should guard what is acquired. The *Nitisara* (II. 15) says that *dama* (control or chastisement) is called Danda, the king is called 'Danda' because control is centred in him; that the Niti (rules) of Danda is called Dandaniti and Niti is so called because it leads (people). *Shantiparva* (69.104) says that Dantaniti is the special concern of Kshatriya (*rajan*). It is said in the *Vanaparva* (150 32) that without Dandaniti this whole world would break all bounds. Dandaniti is said to be the support of the world (*Shantiparva*, 121 24) and to have been produced by Devi Sarasvati (*Shantiparva*, 122 25)

Arthashastra : Arthashastra has been a synonym for Dandaniti. When the *Apastamba Dharmasutra* (II. 5.10 16) requires the king to appoint as Purohita a Brahmana well versed in *dharma* and *artha*, it is clear that Apastamba has in view Dharmashastra and Arthashastra. The *Anushasana-*

parva says that Brihaspati and others composed Arthashastra (39. 10–11). *Dronaparva* (6. 1) speaks of science of *artha* composed by Manu (*Manavi arthavidya*.) *Shantiparva* (71. 14) states that a king whose sole concern is with Arthashastra does not secure *dharma* and *kama* and that all the wealth of such a king vanishes in (the pursuit of) improper objects. *Shantiparva* (302 109) speaks of Arthashastra as resorted to by the best among kings. The *Ramayana* (II. 100. 14) states that Sudhanva, Upadhyaya of Rama, was an adept in Arthashastra. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya starts with the statement that it is the quintessence of all the Arthashastras composed by former teachers in the whole world and at the end Kautilya states that that shastra which is a means of acquiring and guarding the earth is Arthashastra. This mentions two of the four objects of Dandaniti stated in the *Kautiliya* itself. Only two objects are mentioned by Kautilya (as in *Shantiparva* 69 102) since they are the first and principal ones to be gained by the practice of the science of government. It is not meant that there was, as regards the topics to be dealt with, any distinction between Dandaniti and Arthashastra. The four objects mentioned by Kautilya are always placed before the Kshatriya by Manu (VII 99-100). At the end (XV. 1) Kautilya states: "*Artha* is the sustenance of human beings, that is, the earth peopled by men That shastra which is a means of acquiring and guarding that earth is Arthashastra" Men derive their sustenance from the earth and all wealth also arises from the earth Mr Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, p 5) is not right when he translates 'Artha is human population.' Authors a few centuries later than both the *Mahabharata* and the *Kautilya* treat the two as identical.

Dandin in his *Dashakumaracharita* (VIII) expressly says that Vishnugupta composed his work on Dandaniti for the

Maurya king in 6000 shlokas, though the *Kautiliya* states at the very beginning that the work is an Arthashastra. Dandin in the same context refers to 'Arthashastras as helping to polish the intellect' and speaks of some of the predecessors mentioned by the *Kautiliya* as writers on the shastra (*viz.* the Arthashastra). The *Amarakosha* treats the two as identical. Medhatithi on Manu (VII. 43) holds that the word 'Dandaniti' therein refers to the works of Chanakya and others. The *Mitakshara* on Yajnavalkya (I 313) paraphases Dandaniti by Arthashastra and on Yajnavalkya (I. 311) explains Dandaniti as the lore useful in the acquisition and guarding of wealth (only the two objects mentioned by Kautilya in connection with Arthashastra) According to the *Shukranitisara* (IV. 3.56), "that is said to be Arthashastra in which instruction about the conduct of kings and the like is given without coming in conflict with Shruti and Smriti and in which the acquisition of wealth with great skill is taught."

Artha and Danda. The words Arthashastra and Dandaniti are applied to the science of government from two different points of view. *Artha* is defined in the *Kamasutra* (I. 20) as 'education, lands, gold, cattle, corn, domestic utensils and friends and the augmenting of what is acquired.' Therefore when wealth and prosperity of all kinds is the spring and motive of giving a name the science treating of these is called Arthashastra and when the government of the people and the punishment of offenders are the main ideas the same is called Dandaniti. Though works like Kautilya's *Arthashastra* place a high value on *dharma* they are principally concerned with the treatment of central and local government, taxation, the employment of *sama* and other *upayas*, with alliances and wars, appointment of officers and punishment. Therefore Arthashastra is mainly what is called *drishtartha smriti*, as stated by the *Bhavishyapurana*.

Medhatithi on Manu (VII 1) explains that *dharma* in that verse means 'duties', that the duties of the king are either *drishtartha* (i.e the effects of which are worldly and visible) such as the employment of six *gunas* (*sandhi*, *vigraha*, etc) or *adrishtartha* (that have no visible effect but have a spiritual result) such as Agnihotra; here (in chap. VII-IX of Manu) the remarks relate principally to *drishtartha* matters since it is well-known that the word *Rajadharma* is applicable to such matters (the six gunas etc.) only. Medhatithi here declares that the rules of Rajaniti are not based on the canonical books of Dharmashastra but principally on the experience of worldly affairs.

Nitishastra Another name for the science of government is Nitishastra or Rajanitishastra. *Shantiparva* (59.74) says that in the Nitishastra are set forth all those means whereby people are prevented from forsaking the right path. *Nitisara* of Kamandaka (1 6) does obeisance to Vishnugupta who extracted the nectar of Nitishastra from the vast ocean of Arthashastra (works) The *Panchatantra* (p 2) holds that Arthashastra and Nitishastra are synonymous. The *Mitakshara* on Yajnavalkya (1. 21) remarks that the Arthashastra refered to by Yajnavalkya is Rajanitishastra that is part and parcel of Dharmashastra. The word '*rajaniti*' occurs in *Raghuvamsha* (17 68). Another noteworthy word is '*naya*' which means 'line of policy' and is employed by the *Arthashastra* (1. 2) when it says '*naya*' and '*anaya*' (bad policy) are treated of in 'Dandaniti' It is also used in several classical works, such as the *Kiratarjuniya* (II. 3, 12, 54, XIII. 17).

Arthashastra and Dharmashastra. The relation of Arthashastra to Dhamashastra has now to be understood. As stated above Rajadharma is a very important subject of Dharmashastra. Arthashastra which is principally concerned

with the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the ruler is therefore properly speaking a part of Dharmashastra. As shown above it is supposed to have like Dharmashastra a divine source. But works on Arthashastra enter into great details about the government of a country in all its aspects, while Dharmashastra works generally deal only with a few salient features of Rajashastra. Just as the *Kamasutra* (I. 2.14) states that *dharma* is the highest goal and *kama* is the lowest of the three *puruhsarthas*, so Arthashastra also sets the highest value on *dharma*. The *Kautiliya* states: (III. 1 at end) "In any matter where there is a conflict between Dharmashastra and practices or between Dharmashastra and any secular transaction, (the king) should decide that matter by relying on *dharma* If shastra comes in conflict with any rational and equitable rule then the latter shall be the deciding factor and the (strict) letter of the text will be nowhere." But Kautilya and other writers on Arthashastra lay the greatest emphasis on *artha*. In the eager and relentless pursuit of worldly prosperity means may be recommended or followed which may come in conflict with the strictly ethical standpoint of the dictates of Dharmashastra. In such cases of conflict Dharmashastra works lay down (e g. *Ap. Dh*, 1 9. 24. 23. *Yaj*, II 21, Narada, *Vyavaharamatrika* chap I, 39) that Dharmashastra rules are to be preferred to the dictates of Arthashastra.

Vishvarupa (on Yajanavalkya II, 12) states that according to some predecessors of his the conflict between the dictates of Dharmashastra and Arthashastra is illustrated as follows: Manu (VIII. 351, which is the same *Vishnudharmasutra*, V. 190 and *Matsyapurana*, 227. 116–117) when dealing with *vyavahara* (a subject that pre-eminently belongs to Arthashastra) provides that in killing an *atatayin*, no fault attaches to the killer, while Manu (XI. 89) in the chapter

on *prayashchittas* (which is pre-eminently a topic of Dharmashastra) states that no penance is prescribed (i.e.,) there is no *prayashchitta* for removing the guilt) when a person of set purpose kills a Brahmana. The result is that the later rule prevails and sin is incurred by killing a Brahmana even if the latter be an *atatayin* (though there may be no punishment by the king). Vishvarupa does not accept this illustration. The *Mitakshara* also refers to this example, disapproves of it and gives its own example.

The *Arthashastra* declares that a king should endeavour to secure friends, since the acquisition of friends is superior to the acquisition of gold and land (as is laid down in Yajnavalkya I 352). The rule of Dharmashastra is that a king has to dispense justice, being free from anger and avarice and in accordance with Dharmashastra. Therefore when a suit comes before a king he must decide it according to law, even though he may lose the friendship of a person if his decision goes against the latter. The *Viramitrodaya* follows the *Mitakshara*.

Dharmashastra went by the name of smriti (Manu II. 10), while Arthashastra was treated as an Upaveda. The *Visnhupurana* (III. 6. 28), *Vayupurana* (61. 79) and *Brahmandapurana* (35 88-89) mention the four Upavedas, *viz.* Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and Arthashastra as affiliated to the four Vedas respectively, *viz.* *Rigveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Samaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. Kautilya (I 5) states that the king should listen to the recital of Itihasa in the latter part of the day and includes both Dharmashastra and Arthashastra under Itihasa and requires the minister knowing Arthashastra to advise the king (with examples and precepts derived) from Itihasa and Purana.

Ends of the State: At the end of this section of Rajadharma, a question may be asked: what were the

ends or purposes that the State in ancient India placed before itself, or the Dharmashastra and Arthashastra writers said the State should place before itself? The end of the State has been differently stated by different philosophers and theorists of the West from ancient times to the present day. To take only a few examples. To Plato and Aristotle the end of the State was good life for the citizens. But it is not very easy to say what is meant by the good life. Bluntschli in the *Theory of the State* (Oxford, 1885, Book V, Chap. IV, p 300) formulates the proper and direct end of the State to be "the development of the national capacities, the perfection of the national life and finally its completion", provided, of course, that the process of moral and political development shall not be opposed to the destiny of humanity. This definition is not easy to grasp. There is no agreement as to what is the destiny of humanity and the concepts of nation and national life are hardly older than a few centuries even in Europe. For 'nation' one may substitute the word 'country' or 'kingdom' Then it may be of some application to India.

It is impossible to define the end of the State in a single word or in a few words This question about the end of the State has been partly answered already when speaking of the ideals of kingship. At the risk of some repetition a reply to the above question may be given in the following words. The authors on Dharmashastra had a very low estimate of human nature, they believed that ordinarily men were depraved, that it was difficult to find a man pure by nature and that men were kept in the straight path by the fear of punishment (*Manu*, VII. 22, *Shantiparva*, 15 34). Yajnavalkya (I. 361) requires the king to punish and bring

to the proper path castes and guilds when they swerve from their *dharma* *Kamandakiya-niti-sara* (II. 40 and 42-43) says the same thing and adds that in the absence of Danda the world will revert to the state of Matsyanyaya (the strong devouring the weak). Shukra (I. 23) says the same thing. The ancient writers did not rely on the natural moral impulses of man and on his will to do the right thing. The same ideas are expressed by some Western writers on law and politics. " A herd of wolves is quieter and more at one than so many men, unless they all had one reason in them or have one power over them", says Jeremy Taylor. Salmond (*Jurisprudence*, p 65) states " man is by nature a fighting animal and force is the *ultima ratio* not of kings alone but of all mankind "

We must distinguish between immediate or pro-(release or liberation from the ever-recurring cycle end or goal of most of our philosophy was *moksha* ximate ends and the ultimate end The ultimate of births and deaths and from the miseries and suffering of life). The same was the ultimate goal of Rajadharma. But the proximate goal of the State in India was to create such conditions and environments as would enable all men to live in peace and happiness, to pursue their avocations, to follow their own customs and usages and their 'Svadharma', to enjoy without interference the fruits of their labour and the property acquired by them.

The king was the divinely provided instrument to create the conditions of peace, order and happiness. If the king impartially exercises the power of Danda over all, whether his son or enemy, in proportion to their guilt, he secures this world and the next for himself and the people; the king's scrupulous performance of his own duties leads

him and his people to heaven. The task of the State (or the king who represented the State) was to repress by the threat and use of force any violation of the rights of personal freedom and property, to enforce the practice of people's own traditional customs and usages and to take serious care of virtues and *dharma*.

These were the sentiments of Kautilya himself (III. 1). At the very threshold of his work he remarks: "Therefore the king should not allow people to swerve from or fail in their duties (*dharma*), for whoever holds fast by his *dharma*, observes the rules laid down for *aryas* and those of castes and *ashramas* (the stages of life) will be happy in this world and the next. The members of society consisting of four castes and having four *ashramas* when guarded by the king with Danda will abide by their respective paths, being devoted adherents of their respective duties and avocations."

Both Kamandaka (1 13) and Shukra (I 67) state that a king following the path of righteousness confers upon himself and his subjects the group of three, *viz*, the three *purusharthas* of *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*; if he acts otherwise he certainly ruins himself and the people. The same doctrine is inculcated by other works, such as *Shantiparva* (85, 2), *Markandeyapurana* (27. 29-30) Therefore what the king was to do was to see that the *dharmas* of *varna* and *ashrama* were observed by the people and if they swerved from them to bring them back by punishments. Shukra (IV. 4. 39) says that each caste was to observe the rules of the caste handed down from generation to generation and that if its members behaved otherwise they were liable to be punished by the king. The principal works emphasize that each individual in the State

should fulfil his own duties (*svadharma*) as belonging to a particular class (*varna*) or a particular stage of life (*ashrama*) or his own duties due to the position he occupies and those known as *samanya dharma* such as *ahimsa*, truthfulness, etc., and that the purpose of the State was to enable him to do so and to prevent others from interfering with him

All this laid undue emphasis on the preservation of the *status quo*, on current beliefs and practices as the ideal. The writers do not emphasize that each individual must actively pursue the good of the society as a whole As the final goal was *moksha*, undue emphasis was laid on other-worldliness, on individual attainment and on detachment and running away from ordinary worldly affairs. The goal of the State was deemed to be to enable men to attain the four *purusharthas*, particularly the first three, as the last, *viz*, *moksha* depended only upon individual philosophical insight and mystical experience and was attainable only by a microscopic number.

Even the *Barhaspatya-sutra* (11 43) says that the fruit of polity was the attainment of *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*. Somaḍeva begins his *Nitivakyamrita* in a characteristic way when he performs obeisance to *rajya* (the State) that yields the three fruits of *dharma*, *artha* and *kama*. Kamandaka (IV. 77) winds up his discussion of the seven elements of *rajya* with the declaration that the entire State depends for its highest stability on wealth and the army and that the State when handled by a sagacious minister results in securing the three goals. Kautilya (in I 7) first advises people not to eschew pleasures altogether, but to enjoy pleasures in such a way as not to conflict with the requirements of *dharma* and *artha*, and adds that a man

may enjoy in an equal degree the three goals of life that are dependent on each other, since any one of the three if pursued to excess harms not only the other two but also itself.

The Dharmashastra authors held that *dharma* was the supreme power in the State and was above the king, who was only the instrument to realize the goal of *dharma*. To these authors the State was not an end in itself but only a means to an end Kautilya, true to his position as a writer on Arthashastra, finally states his opinion that *artha* is the chief among the three goals, as the other two depend upon wealth for their realization With this statement of Kautilya, one of the most renowned figures of Indian antiquity, this section on Rajadharma may be appropriately brought to a close.

VI

KAUTILYA

THE Scope of State Activity · There was never an *a priori* limit set to the activity of the State in ancient India. The State was integrated into the vast institutional apparatus for the realization of spiritual life, and could not, therefore, be restricted merely to police functions or the administration of justice. Hindu government could not be merely negative. It had to adopt a positive attitude towards all the main concerns of life — religion, ethics, family, economic culture, etc. We find accordingly that the Hindu State touched the whole of life.

This is the reason why the duty of the State is frequently summed up as protection. The State protects the religion, the morality, the customs and the traditions which have derived from the gods or evolved by the society. It is totalitarian in the sense that it embraces the whole of life But it is not totalitarian in the sense of dominating all other associations and enacting statutes for wholesale regimentation The State holds the ring for the interplay of social forces, intellectual influences, economic enterprise and, above all, the spiritual tradition. Protection also means that it is one of the prime functions of the State to defend its territory against all possible enemies and to protect the people against internal disorder or injustice It undertakes accordingly to maintain law and order and to administer justice Thirdly, it must protect the people from the effects of natural calamities like floods, earthquakes and locusts.

It must protect them against famine, disease, fire, etc. It must protect people against their own folly and ignorance. In short, protection covers not merely hindrance of hindrances to good life, which the German and British idealists have defined as the proper sphere of the State, but it is also stretched to comprise the whole programme of spiritual, cultural and economic welfare.

The best practical illustration of this view is the picture of the State activity in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* which includes practically everything. The State should promote true religion, but Kautilya wants it also to regulate the age and conditions under which one might renounce the world. The State should see that husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, uncle and nephew, teacher and pupil, are faithful to one another and do not play each other false. The State itself should provide support to the poor, the pregnant women, their new-born off-spring, orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless Kautilya tells us when it was legitimate to use witchcraft to gain the affections of wives or sweethearts and when, for instance, in case of perversion, it was to be punished with mutilation or death. He prescribes conditions of divorce, separation, second or subsequent marriages and ways of teaching manners to refractory women. Detailed and minute are his provisions for safeguarding the honour of women, the safety of immature girls, relations of lovers, as well as the profession of prostitutes. The State should facilitate, regulate and control public amusements and entertainments, including gambling

The three-fold motive of regulating life, detecting thieves and spies, and securing some revenue for the State underlies Kautilya's excise policy. In town and country,

camp and fort, the State should itself establish liquor shops at suitable distance from one another or license private individuals to do so according to the laws of supply and demand Kautilya would furnish public houses with beds and seats and enhance their attractions with scents, garlands of flowers, water and other comforts Stringent regulations on the sale and use of liquor and other fermentations are given, but the code of temperance was to be relaxed for four days on occasions of festivity, fairs and pilgrimages On the slaughter of animals and the sale of meat, Kautilya is equally minute.

According to the *Arthashastra*, all professions and occupations are to be controlled by the State. For instance, physicians should report all cases of grave illness to the government. If death occurred in an unreported case, the physician should be punished with the first amercement. If in any case death was due to his carelessness, he should receive the middlemost amercement, while positive neglect or indifference was to be treated as assault or violence. Similarly rules with an amazing fullness of detail are given for the conduct of goldsmiths, weavers of various descriptions, washerman and others, while a series of veritable draft statutes of labourers prescribe, inter alia, that artisans must fulfil their engagements as to time, place and form of work, and obey the instructions duly given, on pain of forfeiting their wages or paying damages or both The State itself appears as the biggest of all business concerns and was entitled to regulate the whole of the economic life in order to promote prosperity Kautilya would licence wholesale business, fix the prices and allow a profit of 5% on home commodities and 10% on foreign ones He would fix rates of interest on loans and mortgages at 15% and 12½% All imports and exports are to be taxed.

For relief of famine, the State granaries should open their doors, the rich should be compelled to yield up their hoards of grain, heavy taxes should be levied on wealthy people, hunting and fishing should be restored to on a grand scale, emigration to the seashore and to the banks of lakes, rivers, etc , should be encouraged, wherever possible grains, vegetables, roots and fruits should be intensively cultivated. Relief should be sought from friendly States in the neighbourhood; prayers should go forth to the higher powers; the gods Mahakachchha and Indra as well as the gods of the mountains and the holy Ganga should be worshipped during draught.

According to Kautilya, the State is to provide, manage and regulate the Raja-marga or the king's highway, Rashtra-patha or the State road and paths for animals, paths for asses and camels, cart-tracks, foot-paths, pasture-paths, shop-paths, defile-paths, cremation-paths, etc. On the main thoroughfares, pillars at intervals of half a *kos* should be set up to serve as signposts.

II

Inter-State Relations: The organization of the Hindu State was determined by its geographic and economic environment. The extensive plains favoured the growth of large States, but the difficulties of transport and communication were so formidable that the Central Government could not usually make its power felt at the circumference. So began that interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces around which a good deal of the history of India, as of every other country, seems to revolve. Every State tended to encroach upon its neighbours. It was not long before opinion and philosophy held up to admiration the ideal of the "the big kingdom", "the kingdom extending up to the

sea", "the universal dominion". On the other hand, such an empire could not last long. The outlying regions were constantly tempted to cut adrift from the main body, to start on an absolutely independent career and, in their turn, to make a bid for supremacy.

Normally, a compromise was struck in the interests of peace and harmony. A kingdom or empire came to mean a fusion of two features which, for want of perfectly suitable terms, may be designated federalism and feudalism There was a king or emperor at the centre claiming suzerainty over a number of princes who offered allegiance to him, subordinated their foreign policies to his diplomatic moves, usually served him in war and offered him tribute, but who retained their autonomy in internal administration. These princes in their turn might have feudatories who stood towards them more or less in the same relation in which they stood towards their suzerain. So there might be a third, a fourth, and even further layers in the political hierarchy.

All these tendencies are reflected or exaggerated, systematized or unduly simplified, analyzed or synthesized in a very logical and abstract manner by the doctrine of *Mandala* which imparted a very symmetrical form to the relationships resulting from the quest for suzerainty and the consequent need of astute diplomacy and alliances. The *Mandala* is supposed to consist usually of twelve kings.

(1) The *Vijigishu* or the would-be conqueror, i e., the sovereign in the centre.

Then, next in geographical order, were five kings in front of him, *viz.*

(2) *Ari*, the enemy.

(3) *Mitra*, the friend of the *Vijigishu*

(4) *Ari-Mitra*, the friend of the enemy.

(5) *Mitra-mitra*, the friends's friend of the *Vijigishu*.

(6) *Ari-mitra-mitra*, the friend's friend of the enemy in his rearward stood in geographical order:

(7) *Parshnigraha* or a rearward enemy.

(8) *Akranda*, a rearward friend.

(9) *Parshnigrahasara*, friend of the enemy in the rearward.

(10) *Akrandasara*, friend of the friend in the rear-ward.

The circle was completed by:

(11) *Madhyama* or the intermediary.

(12) *Udasina* or the neutral.

Within this circle the *Vijigishu* was to maintain a sort of balance of power or to assert his own supremacy. It is assumed in the above enumeration that two adjacent states are normally hostile, and consequently two states with another intervening between them would be friendly; being common enemies of the latter. The *Udasina* is the strongest power in the neighbourhood, which normally can rely on its own strength and need not enter into any diplomatic relation-ship with the neighbouring powers for protection. The *Madhyama* is intermediate in strength between the *Udasina* and the other powers.

The game of power-politics naturally lowered the tone of statecraft and imparted to it a Machiavellian tinge. For instance, all the writers enumerate the four instruments of policy, *viz*, *Sama* or conciliation, *Dana* or gift, *Danda* or

chastisement, and *Bheda* or sowing dissensions. Kautilya recognises deceitfulness and secret punishment among the legitimate means of statecraft There were, however, a few writers who repudiated the whole doctrine of reason of State Thus Arya Deva declared that mortality, i.e , righteousness, must everywhere be supreme, in public as in private life

It was a natural consequence of this state of things that there should grow up conventions and rules on relations between suzerains and vassals as well as on those between independent sovereigns There is accordingly a regular network of doctrines and maxims on what may be called foreign affairs or inter-state relations and client states.

The most comprehensive account of this is given in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* It enumerates the following six-fold policy determining the relations of States with one another —

1. *Sandhi* (Treaty of peace or alliance);
2. *Vigraha* (War);
3. *Asana* (Neutrality);
4. *Yana* (Making preparation for attack without actually declaring war);
5. *Samshraya* (Seeking the protection of another);
6. *Dvaidhibhava* (Making peace with one and waging war with another).

Kautilya points out in detail the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a ruler in the matter of adopting one or other of the above policies. This discussion shows a penetrating insight into affairs of State The sole gudiding principle in making the choice is

the material welfare of the State. The sole guiding principle in making the choice is the material welfare of the State. "A wise king," says Kautilya, "shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests, and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy."

Kautilya is not guided by any spirit of chivalry when it is not conducive to the material interest of a State. Thus when a weak king is attacked by a powerful king, he should seek the protection of a powerful king, combine with a number of his equals or even inferior kings, or shut himself up in an impregnable fort. Failing all these means he should, according to one school of writers, rush against the enemy like a moth against a flame, with a view to secure death or victory. But Kautilya is definitely againt this. According to him, the weak king should rather accept the most humiliating terms, biding his opportunity to free himself from this servitude. The details given by Kautilya about these terms indicate the extent of a suzerain king's authority over his vassal. Without the permission of the former the latter could not undertake, among other things, to construct forts, celebrate marriages of sons or daughters, hold the installation ceremony of his heir-apparent, purchase horses, capture elephants, perform sacrifices, march against foes or even go out on excursions for amusements He was not free even in his dealings with his officers and subjects. Even on occasions of worshipping the gods and making prayers he should invoke the blessings of God on the suzerain king. He should help the protector as much as he can, and always proclaim his readiness to place himself at the disposal of the suzerain.

Various kinds of treaties between independent kings are discussed by Kautilya. One of them was an alliance with another State with the ultimate object of forming a coalition against an enemy. The others have for their objects acquisition of land or gold, colonization of wasteland, and construction of forts.

Kautilya also enumerates various types of treaties concluded between a powerful and a weaker state when the latter is threatened by the former. These are divided into three broad classes according as the essential conditions are the cession of territory, payment of money, or promise of military help by the inferior State. There are various sub-divisions in each class. In the first, for example, there may be (1-2) cession of only a part of the kingdom or the whole of it without the capital, or (3-4) the payment of the product of his lands, or of more than his lands produce. In the second class the amount of indemnity may be large or small and paid in one or more instalments. In the third class it might be stipulated that troops to be sent for the assistance of the superior king were to be led in person by the king of the inferior State, his son and commander-in-chief, or by some other person. In the first two cases a person of high rank or a woman was to be given as hostage, evidently to ensure the presence of the king or the prince with his troops, which was naturally regarded by them as the most humiliating. These various kinds of treaties indicate in a general way the relation between States of unequal power.

The enforcement of a treaty proved a difficult problem. In addition to the promises of the two parties, sometimes an oath was taken for the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. "Honest kings of old," we are told, "made their

agreement of peace with this declaration : "We have joined in peace.' In case of any apprehension of breach of promise they made their agreement by a swearing by fire, water, plough, a fort-wall, clod of earth, shoulder of an elephant, horse-back, seat of a chariot, weapon, precious stone, seed of plant, fragrant substance, *rasa* (mercury, poison, or milk) and gold, and declaring that these (i.e., the thing or things by which the oath is administered) will desert and kill him who violates the oath."

One school of political writers thought that mere honesty and oath were not sufficient, but hostages were necessary for the due fulfilment of the treaty Kautilya differs from this, though he enunciates the principle that "whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace." In general, moral considerations have no place in Kautilya's statecraft, its sole guiding principle being the welfare of the State.

It is difficult to say whether there was any definite body of rules regulating the relation between different States, such as we have, for example, in the international law of the present day. Some such usages as the inviolability of ambassadors, or the personal safety guaranteed to cultivators even in times of war, may be regarded as coming under this category. The humane rules of warfare laid down by Manu might be regarded as generally recognised by States. These forbid the use of weapons, which are concealed, poisoned or barbed, or the points of which are blazed with fire, and also striking down an enemy who is wounded, engaged in fighting with another, has offered submission, turned to flight, broken his weapon or lost his coat of mail. But the elaborate directions of military campaigns laid down in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* do not take into account these humanitarian rules of

warfare. He recommends, without scruple, any means, fair or foul, that may bring success against the enemy

Kautilya, however, agrees generally with Manu in recommending mild and beneficent measures to be adopted towards a conquered country. The conqueror should "follow the friends and leaders of the people," and "adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, language and customs as those of the people. He should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious and congregational festivals or amusements." Manu, however, further recommends that a relative of the vanquished ruler, approved by the people, should be put on the throne on stipulated conditions.

That there was a more or less regular diplomatic intercourse between different States is proved by Kautilya's long dissertation on the 'mission of envoys'. The envoys are divided into three grades, according to status, and probably also, as their names imply, with reference to the power vested in them. To the highest category belongs an ambassador vested with full discretionary powers. The second class had limited powers and was probably despâtched with a particular objects in view The envoys of the third class merely carried a definite message

The envoys sent to a foreign State were expected to secure information about its internal condition including its military strength, the state of parties and public opinion. For this they should employ spies and use cypher-writings. The duties of an envoy, enumerated by Kautilya, include the transmission of messages, observance of the due fulfilment of treaties, contracting alliance, intrigue and sowing dissension among allied powers, gathering information about the movements of spies, securing release of hostages, etc.

III

Forms of Government It is impossible to describe Hindu government in Greek terms which have been taken over by modern political science from Plato and Aristotle Ancient India knew of republics, but they differed in texture and form from the city-states of the Greeks and the Romans. The Hindu State, for the most part, was a country State. It could not be a democracy because direct democracy implies a primary assembly of all citizens and was a physical impossibility in an extensive State. Here the democratic element is to be found at the bottom, in village communities and in group organizations on the basis of kinship or function, all over the country But democracy at the centre, either in the Greek or in the modern European sense, was, except for small tribal republic, ruled out by the facts of geography and the difficulties of transport.

Nor could Hindu governments be aristocratic in the sence in which a number of Greek cities in antiquity, Venice during the Middle Ages, and Britain, Prussia and Hungary in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries were aristocratic. Here in India caste forbade a combination of the power of wealth with that of office. There never was an organized church in India comparable to the Roman Catholic or Protestant churches, but there was a sacerdotal caste, some of whose members, though not all, functioned, as priests, preceptors, writers and political advisers. They enjoyed high prestige of birth but were mostly poor. They were expected to lead austere lives and depended on gifts of offerings from prince and peasant alike. True, there was supposed to be a ruling and military caste in India known as the Kshatriyas, but it had had to share social control with the Brahmanas

who represented the brain power, and the Vaishyas who represented the economic strength of the community. Secondly, many Kshatriyas had nothing to do with functions of governments. Thirdly, many non-Kshatriyas, including Shudras, occupied important positions including the throne in some regions and ages Accordingly, there was no concentration of the prestige of birth, influence of wealth, and political office which imparts an aristocratic tinge to social organization and sustains aristocratic government. There was no aristocracy in India in the Greek or European sense of the term.

The normal form of government in India was monarchical, but it was different from that which flourished in Europe during the Roman Empire, for the most part during the Middle Ages, and in the modern period up to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The Hindu State rarely presented that high degree of centralization which is associated with the Roman Empire and the modern nation-State

But it had a centre whose main features demand attention. This was the king, usually hereditary in accordance with the rule of primogeniture, living in high style and a blaze of glory, in enjoyment of an immense revenue[3] from private and public property. Political theory which usually, though not uniformly, approached political questions from the ethical standpoint, expected the king to lead a blameless life, disciplined to ceaseless administrative labour and consecrated to the public good. It laid heavy responsibilities, temporal and spiritual, on him, promised him lasting bliss in heaven or threatened him with all the tortures of hell in accordance with his success or failure in the great moral and political venture In practice, doubtless, the absence of constitutional, as distinct from conventional, checks left many a

crowned head comparatively free to indulge in luxury and vice, caprice and injustice. But it is only fair to remember that all despotic authority was tempered by rebellion or assassinations. So long as he was on the throne, the king presided over the executive and judicial departments of government and was expected to take the lead on the field of battle.

The machinery for executive administration was well organized. It was the special care of the king assisted by ministers and a number of high officials. Below the great functionaries stood a host of minor officials, military officers, diplomats and spies, secretaries, clerks, technical employees and so forth.

There was no separation of the executive and judicial functions. But in practice there were a number of men whose primary function was adjudication and who were assisted by a set of minor functionaries, Hindu theory laid the highest emphasis on justice. In theory and practice alike judicature was one of the most important aspects of governance.

Such was the machinery in outline that normally worked at the centre. But it was difficult to ensure its extension to the provinces, districts and towns or villages. It was necessary to devise means for reconciling central with local government and administration. Three lines were struck by political theory. In the first place, a great deal of autonomy was left to feudatories and sub-feudatories In the second place, the king or feudatory organized a regular system of provincial and district administration. In the third place, a great deal of autonomy was left to villages, more in the Deccan than in the North, and most of all in the South.

This territorial organization contained elements of federalism, feudalism and local autonomy. But it did not exhaust the whole subject of social regulation. There existed parallel organizations, on the basis of function, in the form of village communities, kinship associations, and guilds of manufacturers, merchants, bankers or others. They enjoyed considerable autonomy in the management of their affairs. Their customs or rules were recognised by the state and upheld by the law-givers. It will be observed that in India the principle of function dovetailed into that of kinship and habitancy and was, therefore, often vested with greater significance than in medieval Europe. In any case, it was the basis of an important part of the machinery of social control.

Thus, organization was both horizontal and vertical, and comprised a number of local and functional jurisdictions and intermediate associations standing in various, more or less ill-defined, relations with the State Incidentally, the vocational association often cut across lines of caste and locality. For instance, Shreni or a guild consisted of persons following the same craft though belonging to different castes, while the Nigamā formed a guild of traders belonging to various towns.

VII

OUR SOCIAL DILEMMA

OFTEN I ask myself: What is India? What is the essence of India? What are the forces that have gone to make India and how are they related to the major dominating influences of the world in the past and in the present?

The subject is a vast one and covers the entire field of human activity, not only in India but elsewhere, and I suppose no single person can do justice to it But we can take up some particular aspects of it and try to understand them. We can at least try to understand our India, although that understanding will be limited if we do not have the wider picture of the world before us.

What is culture? I look it up in the dictionary and I find a variety of definitions. One great writer has called it "the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world". Another definition says that it is "the training, development, or strengthening of the powers, mental or physical, or the condition thus produced, improvement or refinement of mind, morals, or tastes, enlightenment of civilisation." Culture, in this sense, is something basic and international. Then there are the national aspects of culture and there can be no doubt that many nations have each developed a certain genius and individuality

Where does India fit in? Some people have talked of Hindu culture and Muslim culture and Christian culture. I do not understand these terms, although it

is true that the great religious movements have influenced the culture of a race or a nation. If I look at India, I find the gradual growth of a composite culture of the Indian people.

The origins of this culture may be traced back, on the one hand, to the pre-Aryan period, the civilisation of Mohenjadaro, etc, and the great Dravidian civilisation On the other hand, it received a powerful impress from the Aryans who came to India from Central Asia Subsequently, it was influenced by repeated incursions from the north-west and later by the people who came across the seas from the west.

Thus this national culture gradually grew and took shape. It had a remarkable capacity for synthesis and of absorbing new elements. So long as it did so, it was dynamic and living. In later years it lost the dynamic quality and became essentially static which led to weakness in all fields. Throughout India's history we see the two rival and contradictory forces at work—those in favour of a synthesis and absorption and those fissiparous tendencies which separate Today we face the same problem in a different context. There are powerful forces working for unity, not only political but cultural also. There are also forces that disrupt and lay stress on separateness.

The question, therefore, for us today is not an academic one but a vital issue, on the understanding and solution of which depends our future. Normally, it is the business of the intellectuals to give a lead in dealing with such problems, but our intellectuals have failed us. Many of them do not even seem to realise the nature of this problem, others suffer from frustration and a crisis of the spirit, not knowing where to turn.

Marxism and its progeny attracted many of the intellectuals, and there is no doubt that it gave a certain analysis of historical developments which helped us to think and to understand. But even that proved too narrow a creed and, whatever its virtue as an economic approach, it failed to resolve our basic doubts. Life is something more than economic growth, though it is well to realise that economic growth is a basic foundation to life and progress. History shows us two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change.

They appear to be opposed to each other and yet, each has something of the other. We notice what we consider sudden changes in the shape of violent revolutions or an earthquake. Yet, every geologist knows that the major changes in the earth's surface are gradual, and earthquakes are trivial in comparison to them. So also, revolutions are merely the outward evidence of a long process of change and subtle erosion. Thus, change itself is a continuous process and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.

There are periods in history when the process and tempo of change are more in evidence At other times, the appearance is much more static. The static period in the life of a nation is a period of progressive deterioration and weakness, leading to the decay of the creative arts and tendencies and often to political subjection.

Probably, the most powerful cultural element in India came from the union of the Aryan with the older element in India, chiefly the Dravidian. Out of this arose a mighty culture, chiefly represented by our great classical language,

Sanskrit. That language, though it had its origin together with old Pahlavi in a common parent in Central Asia, became the national language of India. Both the north and the south contributed to its growth

Indeed, in later days, the south played a very important part. Sanskrit became the symbol not only of our people's thought and religion, but the embodiment of the cultural unity of India. Ever since the Buddha's time, it has not been the spoken language of the people and yet it continued to exercise this powerful influence all over India Other great influences came in, which led to new avenues of thought and expression.

Caste, in its innumerable forms, is a typical product of India. Untouchability, the objections to interdining, inter-marriage, etc., are unknown in any other country The result was a certain narrowness in our outlook. Indians, even to the present day, find it difficult to mix with others. Not only that, but each caste tends to remain separate even when they go to other countries. Most of us in India take all this for granted and do not realise how it astonishes and even shocks the people of other countries

Thus, in India, we developed at one and the same time the broadest tolerance and catholicity of thought and opinion as well as the narrowest social forms of behaviour. This split personality has pursued us and we struggle against it even today. We overlook and excuse our own failings and narrowness of customs and habit by references to the great thoughts we have inherited from our ancestors. But there is an essential conflict between the two, and so long as we do not resolve it, we shall continue to have this split personality.

us and our intellectuals developed the habit of thinking like British intellectuals.

Now this faith in western thought is itself being shaken and so we have neither the old nor the new, and we drift not knowing whither we are going. The younger generation has no standards left, nothing to direct their thinking or control their action.

This is a dangerous situation and if not checked and improved, is likely to lead to grave consequences. It may be that we are passing through an age of transition, political, economic and social, and these are the inevitable consquences of such a period. But in the atomic age no country is likely to be given many chances to correct itself, and failure may well mean disaster.

VIII

AMIR KHUSRAU

"THE incomparable Amir Khusrau stands unequalled for the volume of his writings and the originality of his ideas; for, while other great masters of prose and verse have excelled in one or two branches, Amir Khusrau was conspicuous in every department of letters. A man with such mastery over all the forms of poetry has never existed in the past and may not come into existence before the Day of Judgment". Thus wrote Zia-ud-din Barani, the contemporary historian.

Zia-ud-din's estimate of Amir Khusrau is fully endorsed by modern critics. Maulana Shibli remarks in his *Shi'r-ul Ajam*: "No person of such comprehensive ability has been born in India during the last six hundred years, and even the fertile soil of Persia has produced only three or four persons of such varied accomplishments in a thousand years. To take poetry alone, Khusrau's mastery over all its forms is marvellous. Firdausi, Sa'di, Anwari, Hafiz, 'Ufi and Naziri are kings in the realm of verse, but the mastery of each of them was confined to one section of it only. Firdausi could not advance beyond the *masnavi*, Sa'di could not write *qasidas*, Anwari had no power over the *ghazal* or the *masnavi*, while Hafiz, 'Ufi and Naziri were unable to step outside the circle of the *ghazal*. But Khusrau's comprehensive genius takes the *ghazal* as well as the *masnavi*, *qasida*, and *rubai* whithin its all-embracing fold, together with the minor departments of versification *mustazad*, *sana-'i* and *bada-'i*

For sheer quantity no one can equal him. Firdausi's couplets amount to about seventy thousand, Saib has been responsible for over a hundred thousand, but Amir Khusrau's couplets number several lacs "

One wonders all the more, therfore, that a poet who has left such a legacy behind him passed all his life as a courtier. He did not shut himself up for years as Firdausi did to write his *Shahnama*, nor did he like Moliere accompany the court without being a courtier. Our poet had to attend his patrons as a courtier; only when his duties became too exacting he would register a mild protest as he did to 'Ala-ud-din: "If I stand before you day and night how can my mind produce poetry? Without thought surely my poetry will be frivolous and shallow " In a pathetically frank passage he compares his life with Nizami's, who had, Khusrau asserts, no other occupation except writing poetry. "But poor as I am", continues Khusrau, "needy and confused, my brain always boils like a cauldron. All night till day break and from morning till evening I find no respite from my worries. For the sake of my selfish spirit I have to stand on my feet before a man like myself The wages which they give me they think to be a favour and all my labour is ignored, just as a wretched ass who carries loads of fodder is given some oats with a sad grace." (*Masnavi of Majnun-o-Laila*).

But this busy life may not have been harmful to the poet Imagination in art consists in knowing how to find most complete expression of an existing thing, not merely to suppose or create that thing Khusrau not only found it but he represented "the spirit, the form, the language of his time."

To understand his works, therefore, it is necessary to realise the significant details of his life

II

A Turkish soldier named Amir Saif-ud-din Mahmud settled at Patiyali, a small town in the Etah district, and entered the service of Iltutmish, the second Slave King of Delhi. Saif-ud-din became an army officer of high rank, and married the daughter of Imad-ul-Mulk. Three sons were born of this marriage, of whom the second born in 1253 was called Abul Hasan Khusrau or Abul Hasan Yamin-ud-din Khusrau.

There is a tradition that soon after his birth, his father took him to a saintly person who exclaimed on seeing the baby: "O Amir, you have brought to me one who shall surpass Khaqani himself."

Though like many good soldiers of his time Saif-ud-din was illiterate, he decided to give his three sons the best possible education But the precocious Khusrau received the greatest attention from his father, so that the future poet might,—as he imfoims us—"achieve literary proficiency."

Khusrau was therefore sent to a Maktab at an early age, and some private tutors to teach him at home were also engaged. Of his student days Khusrau wrote later: "My father sent me to the Maktab for study, but I repeated only rhymes, and while my learned teacher tried to teach me calligraphy I composed verses about the silken down on fair faces. In spite of the persistent efforts of my teacher, continuous and long like the tresses descending from head to foot on the back of a beauty, I would not renounce my infatuation for the locks and the mole. As a consequence, at that tender age I began to compose verses and *ghazals* that roused the admiration and wonder of my elders."

Fortunately the boy had intelligent teachers who did not smother the natural longings of a poet. One day before he had reached the age of eight, he was taken by his teacher to Khwaja Izz-ud-din, a distinguished scholar. After the boy had charmed every one present by reciting verses, the Khwaja asked him to compose a verse containing the four words hair, egg, arrow and melon. "In the presence of all the people in the assembly" says Khusrau, "there and then I composed the following verse: 'Every hair in the tresses of that beauty has attached to it a thousand eggs (i. e., grains) of amber. But do not consider her nature to be straight as an arrow for like the melon the teeth (i. e., the seeds) are concealed within" The Khwaja then gave Khusrau the pen-name of Sultani, which he has used in some of his earlier poems.

Soon after, at the age of eight Khusrau lost his father. A pleasing trait of Khusrau's character is his filial affection. At the height of his fame he humbly acknowledged the debt he owed his father: ' In my clay is the seed planted by him and it is now blooming forth" When he was writing *Majnun-o-Laila* his mother and younger brother died (A. D. 1297) Like a child Khusrau longed for her: "Where are you, O mother mine, that I cannot see you? Have mercy on my tears and come smiling out of your grave! In days gone by I was as insolent as you were loving, and now that I am ashamed of my conduct, how can I ask your forgiveness..." Addressing his dead brother he wrote: "Oh, let me see you; do not turn away your face. Wake up, wake up! You have slept too long. Or, if you are too pure for my physical eye to perceive, at least come to me in my dreams"

The death of his father did not interfere with the life of ease to which Khusrau was accustomed. His maternal

grandfather Imad-ul-Mulk rose under Ghiyas-du-din Balban to become one of the chief officials of the administration. Imad-ul-Mulk maintained more than two thousand slaves and one thousand soldiers ; fifty to sixty slaves were engaged in offering betel leaves to his guests. It was an age when the Turkish nobles vied with each other in generosity, and mad splendour. Says Barani : "If a khan or malik heard that five hundred persons dined at the table of a certain khan or malik, he became envious and tried to feed a thousand at his table Again if one of them came to know that such and such malik gives as charity two hundred "tankahs" when he rides out, he was jealous and determined to give away four hundred "tankahs" when he himself rode out. If one of the nobles bestowed fifty horses in his wine-party and gave robes to two hundred persons, another noble hearing this would feel jealous and would try his best to give away a hundred horses and to bestow robes on five hundred persons." Khusrau was a child of the age and he voiced its feelings in his advice to his son in *Aina-i-Sikandari*. "Remove the crust of selfishness from thy heart. Give with a pleasant face whatever thou hast, shower thy gifts on all and be not like the cat that withdraws into a corner whenever it has found a morsel to eat. Every silly ass can be generous to his wife and children The man whose kindness extends to his family only is really selfish."

This condition of society and attitude of mind should be remembered when one judges Khusrau for attaching himself to nobles and kings all his life to earn his livelihood. A modern critic may censure him for trading his poetic genius. Khusrau can vindicate himself by quoting precedents as he once actually did in a letter to 'Ala-ud-din : "The allowance which I get from your Majesty is my right and the reward of my service for I remain always beside the royal stirrup...

But as I want to praise you, how can I write verses without some reward? You cannot possibly be unaware of the generosity shown to poets by other kings, who often gave away a treasure for an ode" Khusrau then cites the examples of Khaqani, Mu'izzi, Firdausi and Unsuri on whom kings bestowed proverbially rich presents and adds: "Grass grows only with rain and poetry with the generosity of kings"

Moreover, he was probably never free from financial worries in order to maintain the standard of living set before his young eyes by his affectionate grandfather. It was however in that noble man's house that Khusrau came across the best scholars and poets of his age. They were naturally delighted to hear the boy recite his compositions and encouraged him heartily. Khusrau was elated and improved himself by reading the works of great masters. Contrary to prevailing custom, he did not attach himself to any famous scholar or poet, his own talent and diligence brought him to the forefront before he reached the age of twenty.

Khusrau seems to have avoided advanced studies, particularly in scientific subjects. About languages he says in his *Nuh Sipihr* that with his "knowing mind" he had "studied most of the languages spoken by men. I know them, comprehend them, and have composed in them also" Unfortunately, there seems to be an element of exaggeration in this statement, for, elsewhere he retorts: "I am an Indian Turk and can answer you in Hindi, I have not Egyptian sugar (Arabic) to talk of Arabia"

This brings us to the vexed question as to whether Khusrau wrote Hindi. Some Hindi verses are ascribed to him, but some scholars deny his authorship. Khusrau's own position is unambiguous: "I am the parrot of Hind, ques-

tion me in Hindi so that I may talk sweetly." Elsewhere he remarks "Hindi no less sweet than Persian," and proves his fondness for Hindi by using many words from that language in his Persian poems. But Khusrau was given to exaggeration where his own qualifications were concerned, and the use of a few Hindi words does not prove much. On the other hand one must remember that he was quite capable of picking up enough Hindi by constant association with Hindi speaking men to write a few verses But as his essential and natural medium was Persian, this point has little except academic interest.

Another qualification of Khusrau has also aroused some controversy. There is no doubt that Khusrau was very fond of music and was an accomplished musician He probably took part in musical contests which in those days were very popular, and seems to have been quite familiar with Persian and Indian systems of music. But he is also credited with having invented about twenty new melodies and the *sitar*, which is doubtful. It is quite likely, however, that the popular melodies *qaul* and *ghazal* were first introduced in Indian music by Khusrau. Qawwals all over India recognize him to be their master even today.

III

Imad-ul-Mulk died in 1271 at the age of one hundred and thirteen. Khusrau composed a touching elegy on his grandfather, and in the same year became a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya whom he seems to have known since his early boyhood. Probably to his affectionate nature spiritual solace was necessary after his grandfather's death.

It was however, now necessary for Khusrau to find some employment He therefore attached himself to Malik 'Ala-ud-din Kishlu Khan' popularly known as Malik Chajju or Jhujhu. The young poet was lucky, for Mailk Chajju was the most liberal patron of that age. "For two years", says Khusrau, "I sang his praises in some of the most ornate verses, one of which it would take other poets one year to compose I was constantly present in the garden of that cypress (Malik Chajju) and refreshed his court with the soft breezes that blew from the lily of my tongue." Here is an ode he addressed to Chajju:

The radiant glow of amber-coloured dawn
Had just dispelled the darkness of the night;
The yellow crescent with its curving horns
And jaundiced looks was sinking out of sight.
I asked the morn: "Where is thy promised sun?"
And Chajju's face shone with its rising light.
I turned next to the starry heaven and asked;
"Say what supports thy planets in their flights?"
It smiled at my vain question and displayed
The Malk's arms that held them all upright.[1]

One day Bughra Khan, the younger son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, came to a party organised by Malik Chajju. With his habitual condour Khusrau describes his performance of the evening and his almost childish glee at the "wonderful scattering of gold". Unluckily, pleased with his "sweet verses" Bughra gave him a plate full of "tankahs" and Khusrau accepted it. This, he says, enraged Malik Chajju, and after trying in vain to appease him, he "bolted away like an arrow". In the *dibacha* to

1 Translated by M Habib. *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, p 12

Ghurrat-ul-Kamal Khusrau says: "My poetry is not like that of other poets for I have never praised any other than the patron in whose service I have been." Probably he learned with experience.

Khusrau went to Samana where Bughra was the governor and the prince, the cause of misfortune, gallantly took him under his protection. "I began to serve him" says Khusrau, "and everyday I rose higher in his esteem and favour" But his good fortune did not last long Tughril rebelled in Bengal; Balban took Bughra with him to suppress it, and Khusrau as the latter's protege had to march with the army to Lakhnauti.

To an easy going man like Khusrau the arduous march from Delhi to Bengal during the rains was terrible. But worse followed Bughra was left as governor of Bengal. But none could persuade Khusrau to stay there. He returned to Delhi and luckily came into contact with Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad was the governor of Multan, and there Khusrau accompanied his new patron For five years Khusrau stayed in Multan, "watering" he says, "the five rivers of Multan (Punjab) with seas of my delectable verses". But this glorious life ended tragically.

At this time the duty of the governor of Multan was to check the Mongol raids, and this Prince Muhammad performed very efficiently. Recalling these Mongol raids Khusrau wrote: "Although every year the Mongols come in serried ranks like storks with owlish wings and ominous faces, at the time of their rout under the world-conquering sword of the Prince (Muhammad) they are rent into morsels and are despatched to Kirman" In 1283, however, a very strong force of Mongols entered India and Prince Muhammad

hastened to give them battle. The main Mongol army was defeated and fled with the bulk of the Indian army in hot pursuit. Muhammed got down from his horse to offer the midday prayers, when suddenly a band of Mongols who lay hidden nearby fell upon him, and in the struggle a chance-arrow killed the gallant prince Immediately there was panic, the Mongols either cut down or enslaved the rest of the small detachment and marched away to join their main army. Among the prisoners Khusrau found himself

Though a poet and used to a soft life, Khusrau after all was the son of a soldier His wit did not desert him in his predicament which he describes with genuine passion: "I was taken prisoner and from fear that they would shed my blood, not a drop of blood remained in my veins. I ran about like a torrent here and there, with innumerable blisters on my feet like bubbles on the surface of a stream, and the skin of my feet was rent. My tongue was parched and dry from excessive thirst and my stomach seemed to have collapsed from want of food. Like a leafless autumn tree the body was naked, and torn into a thousand shreds by painful lacerations from thorny bushes, Tears dropped from my eyes as pearls fall from the neck of brides. The despicable wretch who drove me sat on his horse like a leopard in a hill a nauseating stench came from his mouth and arm and filthy moustaches hung on his chin [2] If exhausted I sometimes slowed down my pace, he would threaten me sometimes with his frying pan and sometimes with his spear. I heaved sighs of despair and thought in my mind that I would never be able to escape alive from this situation."

But his lucky chance came soon when they reached a stream. His thirsty captor and his horse drank immoderately

2 The irate poet uses a stronger simile,' which unfortunately cannot be translated.

as much water as they could and soon after died. "Although I was terribly hot and thirsty, I did not pour oil on my naptha by drinking too much water." Khusrau just moistened his lips to refresh his body, so as soon as his captor died he was able to run back to Multan.

From Multan he returned to Delhi and wrote an elegy on the Martyred Prince. This made him famous among the mass for the first time Soon after Balban died and the worthless Kaiqubad succeeded. The new king called the poet to his court, but for political reasons Khusrau avoided the king and attached himself to Malik Amir Ali Sarjandar known as Hatim Khan who loaded him with rich presents. Khusrau himself admitted later that if he had not squandered away the money he received from Hatim Khan his children and grandchildren might have lived a life of ease.

When Kaiqubad marched against his father Bughra Khan, Hatim went with him, and thus Khusrau was present at the touching scene which saw the reunion of father and son, the theme of Khusrau's famous historical *Masnavi Qiran-us-Sa'dain*.

Hatim Khan was appointed the governor of Oudh and poor Khusrau had to accompany him there Oudh then was a beautiful country, and Khusrau describes its charms in a letter to his friend Still he pined for Delhi, "for," as he put it, "although the rose can live for a while in a flower-vase, it soon dies when away from the parent tree". He was also very anxious for his old mother, so after two years, with the Governor's permission, he returned to Delhi

Kaiquban renewed his offers and this time Khusrau joined the court. Since then the Sultanate of Delhi passed through many terrible days, but Khusrau remained the

court-poet, serving three dynasties. As has been said he became "a part of the royal paraphernalia that changed hands at the death of each successive monarch and like the black canopy, the crown and the throne, the palaces, the slaves and elephants became the property of the new master."[3]

Thus when after the overthrow of the Slave dynasty Jalal-ud-din Khalji became king, Khusrau was appointed the "keeper of the Royal Quran." The new king, a poet himself, became a great admirer of Khusrau, and, "each night," says Barani, "Amir Khusrau brought new *ghazals* to the assembly of the king" Two of Khusrau's former patrons, Chajju Khan and Hatim Khan rebelled against the new king and were defeated The poet, a finished courtier, congratulated his master.

His capacity to change with changing times was never more striking than when he welcomed to Delhi 'Ala-ud-din, congratulating him on his success, that is the murder of Jalal-ud-din. In one of his *masnavis* he boasts that he was the first to congratulate 'Ala-ud-din on his accession to the throne But one should remember before condemning Khusrau, that he did what everyone else was doing. Almost all the Jalali nobles and officers joined 'Ala-ud-din without any protest Khusrau was a man of the world, and knew the age he was living in

Khusrau now settled down in Delhi, and the next two decades were the most productive period of his life. Except rarely when he accompanied 'Ala-ud-din on a campaign, he lived in his beloved Delhi He now developed intimate relations with Shaikh Nizam-ud-din whose disciple he had

3. M. W Mirza *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p 78.

been for a long time. In the doxologies of all his later *masnavis,* he praises the Shaikh and names him even before the Sultan. This from a courtier like Khusrau shows genuine respect and love, and no little courage. 'Ala-ud-din was indifferent, but his successor Mubarak Shah displayed open hostility towards the Shaikh. For some time nobles were forbidden by Mubarak to visit the Shaikh, but Khusrau dexterously managad to keep on good terms both with the King and the Saint. As a matter of fact, Mubarak treated Khusrau much more generously than did 'Ala-ud-din, and Khusrau wrote *Nuh Siphar* (Nine Heavens) a versified history of the principal events of his reign.

Mubarak's reign was violently terminated and followed by the short interregnum when the Hindu convert Khusrau Shah sat on the throne of Delhi. All the nobles at Delhi submitted to Khusrau Shah, but for once the poet abstained from attending the court With the accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah, however, Khusrau returned.

Tughluq Shah terated Khusrau very kindly; the poet was more prosperous in this reign than ever before. He accompanied the Sultan to Bengal, and a few days before return, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din died Khusrau's grief knew no bounds. "My end is not far off," he declared, "for the Shaikh has told me that I would not survive him long." So it was. Before six months has elapsed, Amir Khusrau died (1325). He was buried at the foot of his Master's grave

IX

RANA PRATAP

TOWARDS the close of the fifteenth century a fiery and spirited youth was wandering from place to place in Transoxiana pursued by his own hostile kinsmen and Uzbegs of Shaibani Khan who allowed him no respite Unable to recover the throne of his ancestors. he betook himself to the snowy regions of Kabul, where among a fierce and fanatical people he established himself, and now that he was driven away for good from the west, he began to look about for fresh fields and pastures new. The Afghan empire of India was in a bad condition ; it lacked the elements of cohesion and development and its strength was sapped by the feuds of nobles and the imprudence of kings. The malcontents invited Babur to invade the country and Rana Sanga of Mewar joined in the request. Babur grasped at the opportunity with joy and with his warlike Chaghtais came and overpowered the Afghans and Rajputs alike in two bloody battles at Panipat and Khanua The old dynasty tumbled down and a new one was put in possession of Delhi and Agra. But Indian fatalism remained unmoved, and beneath the bright sun and brilliant sky the Mughal conquerors forgot, for the present, the lands of the Oxus and decided to settle down in Hindustan

Babur's health soon gave way under the strain of ceaseless fighting and manoeuvring and he died in 1530. His son Humayun, a kindly man of weak will and unsteady temper, found it hard to maintain himself on his throne owing to the jealousy of his brothers and the revival of

Afghan power. He was expelled from India, and it was after 15 years' exile that he regained his kingdom, leaving it soon after to his young son, who was born under the sheltering care of a Hindu in the desert of Umarkot. Like the fragrance of the musk, which the fugitive Emperor had distributed among his nobles to celebrate the birth of an heir, his fame spread to all parts of India and Asia. His bold imperialism was not merely the challenge of his physical prowess but also the expression of an eager soul that aimed at bringing the whole of India under its sway by fusing together the diverse elements of the population. He planned a new synthesis of creeds, which were all, according to him, different routes leading to the same goal

It was a noble dream originally conceived by the great mystics of India who had preceded the mighty Mughal. They had condemned polytheism and bigotry and emphasised the need for a pure faith. A stir was created and idol worship and effete symbolism were alike denounced as futilities which could lead neither to spiritual advancement nor to human happiness. Thus a new environment was created, of which Akbar was a typical product. As lord of Hindustan, he dreamed of an empire in which the Hindu and the Muslim would be equal partners. The policy of universal peace (Sulh-i-Kul) would unite all, and for the first time the Rajput princes were confronted with a man who conquered to love and cherish. Political subjection lost its sting and defeat its bitterness. The princess of Amber, whom Akbar had married at Sanganir, became a golden link in the chain of this new imperialism. The fusion of the Rajput and the Mughal, who had so far fought *a outrance*, augured well for the future ; but there was one sad thought that troubled the minds of the exponents of this policy, entirely unknown as it was to the previous Muslim rulers of India. Would the

Sisodia house of Mewar accept the policy which Akbar had announced and Amber had seconded? Who could foresee at this time the crop of miseries and the wails of broken hearts which were to be the lot of the men and women of Mewar, of high and low degree? Pride and prejudice alike tended to confirm the Sisodias as the forlorn hope of Rajput resistance to this new orientation of imperial policy.

The land of Mewar has rightly been regarded as the breeding place of heroes and heroines in history. Situated in the Aravalli hills it is a beautiful country, intersected by mountain torrents and covered with abundant vegetation in many places and forests stretching for miles abounding in all kinds of game. Parts of it are rocky and barren, and this physical aspect has made the people hardy and vigorous and capable of enduring privations The seat of political power in the sixteenth century was Chitor, famous alike in legend and history as the nursery of heroes. It is now a small town on the border of a vast plain, and is overlooked by the fort. which stands on a mass of rock three miles and a quarter long and about 1,200 yards wide in the centre The circumference at the base is more than eight miles and the height some four or five hundred feet. In the sixteenth century the city was situated on the summit of the hill where now desolation reigns supreme, except for a few humble dwellings of poor cultivators who are the only remnants of what must have been a fairly busy and populous town, adorned with palaces, temples and markets. As we stand on the lofty hill looking down below, the great figures of history pass before our eyes and we perceive the meaning of Tod's well known description

"With the wrecks of ages around me I abandoned myself to contemplation. I gazed until the sun's last beam fell

upon 'the ringlet of Cheetore,' illuminating its grey and grief-worn aspect, like a lambent gleam lighting up the face of sorrow. Who could look on this lonely, this majestic column, which tells in language more easy to interpret than the tablets within, of

> 'Dead which should not pass away
> And names that must not wither,'

and withhold a sigh for its departed glories ? But in vain, I dipped my pen to record my thoughts in language ; for, wherever the eye fell, it filled the mind with images of the past, and ideas rushed too tumultuously to be recorded In this mood I continued for some time, gazing listlessly until the shades of evening gradually enshrouded the temples, columns, and palaces ; and as I folded up my paper till the morrow, the words of the prophetic bard of Israel came forcibly to my recollection : 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people ! how is she become a widow ! she, that was great among the nations, and princess among the princes, how is she become tributary !' "

The entrance to the fort is by a gate which is succeeded by six others through which we have to pass. The last is the Rampol gate, a large and handsome structure, erected in the Hindu style, towards the west Between these gates are many spots rendered famous by the sacrifice of the sons of Mewar, and in moving accents the lonely guide still relates their story to the tourist and the visitor. Some of the buildings are impressive — Mira's temple and the Jayastambha, or pillar of victory, which was reared by Rana Kumbha in the fifteenth century to commemorate his success over the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat.

The Rajputs of Mewar were a gallant tribe Brave and undaunted, they were always ready to lay down their lives for the honour of their race. The bards recount their virtues with fervour, and sober history sees no reason to dissent from their patriotic panegyrics Mewar has the unique distinction of being a state in Rajasthan which has produced in the past great rulers and warriors and in awful crises her women have behaved like their men. The chronicles are replete with the deeds of valour performed by the heroes of Mewar. But it was her misfortune to be ruled by a man who was neither a great soldier nor a statesman at the time when the sceptre of Delhi and Agra was swayed by the mightiest of Muslim kings—the man who was to shatter the patriarchal system of Rajasthan and to draw the little states into an imperial union based on reciprocal trust and goodwill.

Rana Udai Singh, father of the celebrated Pratap, had come to the *gaddi* in 1537. According to Tod he had not one quality of a sovereign and lacking in martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. He might have frittered away his life in sloth and ease, secure in the fastnesses of his native mountains, had it not been for Akbar, who was now developing a scheme of bringing the whole of Rajasthan within the orbit of his empire. In 1562 he had allied himself with Amber by marriage and cemented his friendship further by elevating to high office Raja Man Singh, nephew of Raja Bhagwan Das, the heir of Beharimal, a man of rare abilities who afterwards rose to be the supreme general and commander of the imperial forces. This done he turned against Mewar As descendants of Bappa Rawal, her Ranas were recognised as pre-eminent among the various clans and were accorded universal esteem in Rajasthan. Their subjugation was bound to make an impression upon

the other princes. Besides, the acquisition of such fortresses as Chitor and Ranthambhor would establish his hold on northern India.

In 1567 the imperial armies marched towards Mewar and on hearing the news Udai Singh retired into the hills, leaving the fort to be defended by Jaimal and Patta with 8,000 Rajputs. It was an act of cowardice unworthy of the Sisodia clan and well does the historian of Rajasthan observe that it would have been better for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes The Mughals beseiged Chitor and laid their batteries around the fortress. Jaimal and Patta heroically defended themselves, and the fair damsels in the inner apartments saved themselves from dishonour by performing *Jauhar*—an act of self immolation to which the Rajput women resorted in the last extremity of danger. Akbar entered the fort at midday and ordered a general massacre. If tradition is to be believed the sacred threads of those who perished weighed 74½ *mans*, a figure still marked on the banker's letter in Rajasthan by which is invoked "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" on those who violate the sanctity of the letter by opening it Akbar returned to Ajmer and offered a thanksgiving service at Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti's shrine. Udai Singh also emerged from his mountain retreat after the departure of the imperialists and busied himself in completing the palaces which he was constructing at the time of the invasion.

After Udai Singh's death in 1572, Rana Pratp succeeded to the *gaddi* of Mewar. The poetic fancy of the bards described Chitor after the desolation as a "widow" despoiled of all that added to her loveliness Brave and warlike, a true Kshatriya in whose veins flowed the blood of Bappa

Rawal, Pratap was the very embodiment of Rajput chivalry and honour. The humiliation of Chitor poured iron into his soul and he longed for revenge His noble spirit was deeply stirred by what had happened and he desired the vindication of the honour of his house Like his forefathers he resolved, in the language of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent." The task was difficult. His state was small; it did not possess resources enough to contend against the might and majesty of the empire over which Akbar ruled. Secondly, the Rajput Princes of Amber, Marwar, Bikaner and Bundi had become the allies of his Muslim foe and were ready to help him against their own compatriots.

But Pratap's ardour was not damped by the magnitude of the peril He denied to himself all luxuries, slept on a straw bed, eschewed rich food and laid aside the plates of gold and silver from which royalty had so far eaten in Mewar. The kettledrums no longer sounded in the van of battle or processions Like the Italian patriot, Mazzini, Pratap felt deeply the woes of his native land and regarded no sacrifice as too great in its service. Often was he heard to exclaim in sorrow. "Had Udai Singh never been born or none had intervened between him and Rana Sanga, no Turk should have ever given laws to Rajasthan." His soul revolted at the thought of entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Muslim emperor and he determined not to bow his head before him in submission. To him the conduct of his fellow princes was indefensible; it meant degradation and dishonour. With a singleness of purpose that has no parallel in Rajput annals, Pratap resolved to carry on the battle of freedom against the empire.

The first thing he did was to strengthen his small state. He reorganised the Government, properly garrisoned the

forts and entrusted them to capable officers. He commanded his subjects to retire into the mountain country when they were attacked by the Mughal. Raja Man Singh was deputed by Akbar to see the Rana after the conquest of Gujarat. The latter accorded to the Prince of Amber a warm reception but refused to listen to his overtures for an imperial alliance. An anecdote which is widely prevalent in Rajasthan shows the dislike which Pratap felt for such a union. Before his departure, Man Singh was invited to dinner by the Rana, and when the dishes were served, he himself did not turn up and excused himself on the ground that he was too ill from stomach-ache to be present. Man Singh understood the hint; he rose up in great agitation and said that he well knew the remedy for the Rana's ailment and that he would have to pay dearly for this affront. Unperturbed by this threat, the Rana replied that he should always be happy to meet him, but as Raja Man Singh leapt on horseback, uttering some more comment upon his host's behaviour, an indiscreet Rajput remarked from behind that he should not forget to bring his *phupha* (father's sister's husband) Akbar with him. This was a biting allusion to what the Mewar heroes regarded as a *mesalliance* between the house of Amber and the Mughal. The spot on which the plates were laid for Man Singh was sprinkled with Ganges water and the chiefs bathed and changed their clothes as if they had been contaminated by the presence of one who had allied himself with the Mughal by marriage. Man Singh was mortally offended at this insult and he persuaded the emperor to humble the pride of Pratap.

It is not necessary to examine the *casus belli* between the emperor and Rana Pratap. The court historian, Abul Fazl, writes that the motive was to chastise him for his

"arrogance, presumption, dis-obedience, deceit and dissimulation" The Rana's offence was that he was proud of his lineage and was determined to preserve the independence of his country. Nothing could draw him into an alliance with the Turk Such were the sentiments of Rana Pratap, and it can easily be imagined how they must have galled the emperor as well as his Rajput satellites who in their heart of hearts desired the ruin of the Rana in order to avoid the odious comparison between him and themselves Akbar, on his part was bent on the Rana's humiliation and the extinction of Mewar's independence The struggle between these two men representing different ideals of imperial expansion and insular freedom was bound to be a bitter one, and no wonder if it evoked the finest qualities in those who pitted themselves against a foe of matchless wealth and power. The better mind of Rajasthan approved of Pratap's action as is shown by the fervour with which the tale of his heroic achievements is still recounted before admiring listeners by bards.

Akbar chose Man Singh, whom he had exalted by the title of *Farzand* (son), to lead the campaign against the Rana, obviously in the hope that being a Rajput, whose ancestors had been vassals of Mewar, he would provoke his great antagonist to a mortal combat in which he would be killed Accompanied by the many nobles, Muslim and Rajput, and five thousand horses, Man Singh started for Mewar in Aprll, 1576, and soon reached Mandalgarh where he began to organise his army. The Rana marched from Kumbhalgarh to Goganda and desired to give battle at Mandalgarh, but his nobles advised him to wait and encounter the enemy from the mountains. The imperialists encamped on the bank of the river Banas near Haldighat

and marching from his place the Rana also posted himself at a distance of six miles from Man Singh's camp. He was assisted by a number of Rajput chiefs, and it is significant to note that among his allies was Hakim Khan Sur who had joined with his auxiliaries. Here was fought the great battle which has immortalised Pratap in history and exalted Haldighat to the rank of Thermopylae in Greece.

Abdul Qadir Badauni, the historian, who was present on the field of battle as a follower of the Mughal commander Asaf Khan, has given a graphic account of it. It was the hottest part of June and the scorching sun made the air like a furnace which made men's brains boil in their skulls. The troops were organised in battle array and Man Singh, seated on an elephant, posted himself at the centre, accompanied by Khwaja Mohammad Rafi Badakhshi, Ali Murad Uzbeg, Raja Lon Karan and others The right, left and van were similarly placed under veteran commanders. The Rana advanced from behind the pass with his 3,000 Rajputs whom he divided into two sections One of these under Hakim Khan Sur attacked the imperial vanguard and threw it into confusion. The Rajputs in the left wing, under Lon Karan, fled like sheep and offered no resistance At this time Badauni asked Asaf Khan how he could distinguish the friendly from the enemy Rajputs and was told in reply: "Go on shooting arrows On whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam." Badauni acted as advised and was glad to have this opportunity of slaying the "infidels,"

The second division of the Rana's army commanded by himself fell upon Qazi Khan at the entrance of the pass and scattered it The battle raged fiercely from morning till

midday and both sides engaged in a death grapple. In a combat of elephants Man Singh displayed great gallantry, but the Rana's elephant, Ram Prasad, fought with undaunted vigour, until his keeper being wounded, he was seized by the imperialists. The Rana could no longer hold on and left the field. Nearly five hundred men lost their lives, and the soldiers were so dispirited that they did not pursue the Rana in his flight. Badauni writes with pleasure that the son of Jaimal, the hero of Chitor, "went to hell" and there was much other "good riddance of bad rubbish."

Next day the imperialists marched to Goganda where they had to endure great privations. There was a dearth of provisions and the soldiers had to subsist on animal flesh and mangoes which abounded in the country. The parching wind made the soldiers sick and their strength and vigour ebbed disastrously Badauni was sent to Asaf Khan to convey the despatch of victory to court and at the same time offer the elephant of the Rana which was captured in battle. The brave animal was presented to Akbar and renamed Pir Prasad, and Badauni's services were recognised by the reward of 96 *ashrafis*. Apparently the Mulla was satisfied.

The Rajput annals are in agreement with the official chronicler who has recorded the details of the battle. There was a desperate encounter between Raja Man Singh and Rana Pratap The latter attacked Man Singh in person with his spear and the forelegs of his horse Chaitak struck against the sword fastened to the trunk of the Kachwaha's elephant. The Rana hastily drew back but the noble charger was badly wounded and at a distance of two miles from Haldighat, he fell exhausted and died. The grateful master raised a platform in his honour which exists to this day.

Both sides claimed the victory and a temple inscription at Udaipur dated May, 1562, records the flight of Man Singh's army before the onset of Pratap's valiant sword. Even according to Muslim chronicles the plight of the imperial army was terrible The fleeing soldiers looked back in fear lest the Rana should suddenly attack them from behind and at Goganda they took special precautions to defend themselves. The Rana seized the passes and cut off the supplies of the imperialists and reduced them to sore straits. Four months passed in this condition At last, fighting the Rajputs at every stage, the imperial army pushed on to Ajmer, leaving their *thanas* to be captured by the enemy.

The Rana utilised this interval to increase his resources. He won over to his side the rulers of Sirohi, Jalor and Idar and with their help began to raid the Mughal outposts. The emperor sent punitive expeditions against the rulers of Sirohi and Jalor with the result that they submitted to him. His attempts to check the Rana's exploits proved unsuccessful.

Hearing of these audacious attempts Akbar marched from Ajmer to Goganda and remained in the Rana's country for six months, but the latter took no notice of him. When he left for Banswara, the Rana came out of hills and blocked the road to Agra. The imperial officers, Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh, Mirza Khan and Qasim Khan, did their best to catch the Rana but in vain. He wandered from hill to hill raiding the Mughal camp and on one occasion it so happened that the harem of Mirza Khan fell into the hands of the Crown Prince but the chivalrous Rana treated the ladies like his own daughters and sent them to their husband with every mark of honour.

But nothing served to induce Akbar to desist from his attempts to bring about the Rana's destruction. He sent.

Shahbaz Khan against him with a considerable force in October, 1587, assisted by the Rajputs of Amber. But the latter were sent back by the imperial general who had no faith in their loyalty. Shahbaz Khan seized Kelwara and then proceeded to Kumbhalgarh but the Rana evacuated the fortress leaving it in charge of one of his chiefs The Mewar garrison offered a desperate resistance and every inch of ground was contested, but they were over-powered by the Mughals and Shahbaz Khan captured Goganda and Udaipur and seized enormous booty. The Rana had retired to Chavand, where he took up his abode and built a small temple which exists to this day.

In these days of difficulty the Rana received great help from his minister, Bhimshah, who brought much booty from Malwa and placed at his master's disposal twenty-five lacs of rupees and twenty thousand *ashrafis*. The condition of the army was improved, and the raids were begun with redoubled vigour. Kumbhalgarh fell into his hands and a little later the princes of Banswara and Dungarpur were repulsed in an attack and made to acknowledge the Rana's sovereignty. Shahbaz Khan appeared once again at the head of a large army but he had to return unsuccessful. The Rajputs followed their usual tactics. The Rana fled into the hills. He forbade cultivation in the plains and ordered the farmers not to pay a single pice to the Muslim tax-collectors The object was to reduce the country to such a desolate condition that it would not be worth while for the Mughals to waste their energy in conquering it. The beautiful valley presented a melancholy aspect brambles and thorns grew along the road side, wild animals prowled about in search of prey; the human habitations were deserted, from the Aravallis to the eastern plateau the whole country became a wild waste.

Such was the method by which Rana Pratap tried to check the aggressive designs of Mughal imperialism.

The events of Rana Pratap's life savour of romance and the bards have woven legends round his personality which have made his name a dear possesion in Rajasthan. Years rolled away in hardship and misery, and at times he felt anxious for the safety of his family. Yet he bore up against it all with a fortitude which is worthy of the highest praise. Mirza Khan was touched by the Rana's valour and perseverence and sent him verses in his own tongue to the following effect :

"All is perishable in this world ; power and pelf will disappear but the virtue of a great name will live forever." What sustained him in all these trials was his own faith and the example of the brave sons of Mewar. At times his children had to go without food and even the elderly princes and princesses found the sorrows of a never ending exile unbearable. At one time the wife of Amar Singh asked her husband how long all this misery was going to last, and the prince's reply that his sire was engaged in a fruitless struggle against a mighty empire, caused much grief to the noble warrior and he felt anxious for the future. Tradition says that on one occasion the Rana, much vexed by his misfortune, wrote a letter to Akbar in which he prayed for a relaxation of his severities. But Prithviraj of Bikanir, who admired Pratap's heroism, sent to him a few couplets asking him not to deviate from his path, and the substance of these is given by Colonel Tod The Rana struck to his resolve and never agreed to bow his head before the Mughal God helped him to wear his moustache high and avoid all contact with the Turk. Prithviraj was satisfied.

But Akbar could never forgive the Rana's faults. In 1584 he again sent Jaganath Kachwaha and Zafar Beg to deal with the Rana, but even they realised that his subjugation was a wild goose chase Circumstances became more favourable; the Emperor was detained in the Punjab for a number of years owing to troubles on the north-west frontier. He found no time to look to the affairs of Mewar. Rana Pratap recovered all his places and at last died in 1597, invincible and indomitable to the lost moment of his life.

The last scene has been pathetically described by Tod. The noble warrior is lying in a humble dwelling, surrounded by his chiefs, the comrades of his many fights who had literally born him to victory on the edges of their swords, waiting for the shuffling off of his mortal coil, when a groan came from the depth of his heart and Salumbar enquired: "What afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace." The proud spirit replied: "It lingered for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk." With his expiring breath he related an incident, alluded to before, which created a doubt in his mind whether Amar would carry on the struggle for freedom or forsake the humble dwellings for the luxuries of palaces. "These sheds," said he, "will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease; and luxury with its concomitants will ensue, to which the independence of Mewar, which we have bled to maintain will be sacrificed; and you, my chiefs, will follow the pernicious example" They pledged with one voice to hold aloft his banner and assured him of the prince's devotion to his ideals. The soul of Pratap was satisfied and he expired with joy.

Rana Pratap lived and died like a true hero He was an undaunted patriot A brave warrior, a lover of freedom and

a man whose self-respect was superb, he dedicated his life to an ideal in the pursuit of which he recked nothing of danger or death. He suffered much to maintain the honour of his house and the purity of his blood, and while the other Rajputs chose to bask in the sunshine of imperial favour, he held aloft the banner of freedom and challenged the greatest power in Hindustan Every art that was employed to wean him from his ideals was treated with scorn, and every intrigue that was set on foot to frustrate his plans was foiled by his volour and enterprise There is no other name in the Rajputs' Saga which is mentioned with greater honour and reverence. Lapse of time has not bedimmed the splendour of Pratap's achievements, and his epic heroism is as much an object of admiration to-day as it was in the sixteenth century. Even Akbar, on hearing the news of his death, was moved and admitted that his was an example worthy of the highest praise. The Muslim empire has vanished into the unknown; the great palaces and council-halls of Agra and Delhi lie tenantless, the Muslim and Rajput imperialists, who marched against the Rana to tame his proud spirit, are mere phantoms across the pages of history, but Pratap lives a charmed life. Even to-day his name is to all ardent lovers of liberty a cloud of hope by day and a pillar of fire by night. To those whose lot it is to engage in righteous but forlorn causes it is an abiding source of inspiration

But, along with Pratap, history must accord its meed of praise to the men who fought and suffered with him. Abul Fazl and other court chroniclers have not a word of sympathy to offer for those hapless victims of imperial ambition who made their glory possible. Indeed in this drama of Mewar's struggle, as Vincent Smith remarks, the vanquished are greater than the victors, for their sacrifice and idealism

added to the dignity of life, and enriched the pages of history as nothing else could have done They fought for the honour of Rajasthan and unheeded the contagion of example. Unlike others of their tribe they chose poverty and exile as their lot in life. The race owes something to these men of noble minds and brave hearts, and if their foes added to the glory of the empire, they contributed to those graceful virtues without which wealth and power tend to turn men into brutes. Amidst much that is sordid and mean, their example stands like that of the Greeks and Romans of old who courted ruin in the service of the cause which they held dear. The deeds of such men are the salt of history and as long as man appreciates high aspiration and the endeavour to realise it their remembrance shall remain a precious heritage of our race.

X

AKBAR

CONTEMPLATING the favourites of Fame (whose laurel is bestowed, like Fortune's smile, not always according to desert), mankind is willingly credulous. Magnified by time and distance, these far-seen personages gather round them an air of fable. Sometimes, conscious of their power to hallucinate, they have conspired with the world's credulity to create their own legend. In vain are the efforts of the rational, when once a man possesses the imagination of the world. All the exposed littlenesses and falsifications of a Napoleon fail to prevent him from towering over his time

But in Akbar, one of the world's great conquerors, and a greater ruler, there is something which spontaneously rejects the legendary. It is true that his historians have dutifully made some little attempts to surround him with a superhuman glory. The usual portents are said to have occurred: at seven months the baby made an eloquent speech from the cradle But the fictitious aureole fails to cling. It is as if the man himself shook off such fetters with impatience. Not that he had no appetite for glory; far from it. But the reality, he would have felt, sufficed

Akbar was the grandson of that joyous and superb adventurer Babur, who, inheriting the throne of a small, though delectable, country in the middle of Asia, spent his life in fighting and scheming for a grander throne, he ended by swooping down on Hindustan and conquering there a great dominion. His son Humayun held his precariously

till he was driven out by rival rulers of Afghan race; after years of exile he won back his throne, only to die. Humayun's son, Akbar, then but a boy, had to fight for his inheritance He secured it; and then, piece by piece, kingdom by kingdom, he annexed in an almost incessant series of wars the countries surrounding his frontiers, till his empire stretched from sea to sea. Except for that southern portion called the Deccan, he became master of India.

Such was his achievement as conqueror. His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Akbar's conceptions were something new in the history of Asiatic conquerors. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government

Yet Akbar's achievements are transcended in interest by the man himself. And in a little book like the present it is the portrait of the man rather than the story of his doings with which we shall be most concerned. The full record of his conquests and administration can be read in the pages of Mr Vincent Smith's *Akbar, the Great Mogul*: a volume which has its faults and which is sometimes curiously unjust to its hero, but in which is collected a vast amount of solid information. The chief original authority is the *Akbar-namah* (the Story of Akbar), written in Persian by the Emperor's friend and minister, Abul Fazl There are other Indian histories. But of greater interest to us, perhaps,

are the vivid accounts given by the Jesuits who stayed at Akbar's court and sometimes accompanied him on his expeditions.

Hardly any one so conspicuously eminent in history is so plainly set before our eyes or has so actual a presence in our imagination. The detailed records of his daily life, no less than of his achievements, are corroborated not only by numerous portraits but by a long series of small paintings (very many of which are now in this country), in which his manifold activities are vividly depicted. We have him before our eyes in his prime of life. He is compact of frame, muscular, rather burly, of moderate stature, but broad-shouldered; neither lean nor stout; of a healthy complexion, the colour of ripe wheat. His eyes, rather small, but with long lashes, sparkle like the points of light on little waves when they catch the sun. He wears moustaches, but no beard. His voice is loud and full When he laughs, it is with his whole face. His movements are quick, though from much riding in his youth he is slightly bow-legged. He carries his head a little on one side over the right shoulder. His nose is no commanding beak; it is straight and small,the nostrils wide and mobile. Below the left nostril is a wart, thought to be very agreeable in appearance. In whatever assemblage of men, he is recognisably the king. He radiates energy. His temper is naturally violent; and he is aware of it, so much so, that his orders are that no death-warrant is to be carried out till it is twice confirmed. His anger is terrible, but easily appeased. He has an insatiable curiosity, and loves new things. His mind is as incessantly employed as his body.

And yet strange to say, Akbar the greatest and, except possibly Philip of Spain, the wealthiest potentate of his time

in the world, a man versed in history and poetry and delighting in philosophical discussion, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. It is true that there exists on the flyleaf of a precious manuscript copy of the *Life of Timur*, Akbar's ancestor, a single signature of his, laboriously written in a childish hand and reverently attested by his son Jahangir. But this signature, preserved as an unique marvel, only confirms the universal testimony to his inability. Yet, if unable to read, he is all the more able to remember. He has books read aloud to him, and knows them better than if he had read them himself. His memory indeed is as prodigious as his energy.

A traveller from Europe in the later part of the sixteenth century who should arrive at last in the Mughal's dominion would find no difficulty in seeing the Emperor at close quarters and enjoying his conversation. Foreigners were welcome; and indeed among those who habitually thronged the courtyards at Fatehpur-Sikri, that strange splendid city built at Akbar's whim and afterwards so suddenly abandoned, were men of various Asiatic races, predominantly Persians, Turks, and Hindus, and of many diverse creeds 'The Great Mogul' was a sort of fairy-tale in the West; yet here were all the marks of a civilisation closely parallel with that of Europe, though so different on the surface. The external magnificence might have some touches of the barbaric, but then what barbarities mingled with the refinements of European courts! What dirt was disguised by the perfumes! Refinements were here of every sort: not only luxurious appointments and the gratification of the senses, but a love of letters and the arts. Poetry was held in high honour, and the ingenuity of the Persian poets' 'conceits' could rival those of Marini and his northern imitators Painters and archi

tects abounded, under the direct patronage of the Emperor, who himself had learnt to draw and was a skilled musician, besides being a worker in half a dozen handicrafts. If theological disputation and religious animosities were a sign of high civilisation, these rivalled in fierceness those of Western countries; but while in Europe the disputants burnt or massacred one another in their zeal, and devastated whole countries in the name of religion, here in India a restraining power prevented arguments from ending in the use of swords; here was a monarch who actually believed in toleration

Any day, then, our traveller might have seen Akbar holding a reception; for he holds audience twice a day. The blaze of the Indian sun makes strong shadows from the verandah-pillars of the red sandstone palace, where Akbar receives one courtier or envoy after another. Peacocks sun themselves on the roof of the verandah, in the courtyard elephants are slowly led, a groom holds a cheetah in leash; an animated crowd of virile-looking men in dresses of fine silk and of various colours stand about Akbar himself dressed in a surcoat reaching to the knees (were he a stricter Muslim it would reach to the feet), and wears a closely-rolled turban hiding his hair; a rope of great pearls hangs from his neck. His manner has subtle changes. With the great he is great and does not unbend; to the humble he is kindly and sympathetic It is noticeable how he makes more of the small presents of the poor (and he is very fond of presents) than of the costly gifts of the nobles, at which he will hardly glance. As a dispenser of justice he is famous; every one wronged (an observer has said) 'believes the Emperor is on his side'

Four times in twenty-four hours Akbar prays to God: at sunrise, at noon, at sunset, and midnight. But any one

who tried to keep up with his daily activities would need to be of iron make Three hours suffice for Akbar's sleep. He eats but one meal a day, and that at no fixed time He eats but little meat, less and less as he grows older; 'Why should we make ourselves a sepulchre for beasts?' is one of his sayings. Rice and sweetmeats are the chief of his diet, and fruit, of which he is extremely fond. His day is a long one, and he fills it full. Between state councils and conferences with ministers or generals he inspects his elephants—of which he has five thousand in his stables—his horses, and other animals. He knows them by name. He notes their condition; if any show signs of growing thin and poorly, the keeper responsible finds his salary docked. Presently he will repair to an upper terrace where are the dove-cotes, built of blue and white bricks, and with infinite pleasure he watches the evolutions of the tumbler-pigeons, deploying and returning, massing or separating, to the sound of a whistle. Part of the day is devoted to the harem, in which there are three hundred women At another time he will be watching (like Marcus Aurelius) gladiatorial combats, or fights between elephants and lions. But though entering with such zest on his amusements, his mind is occupied also with other things: for messengers arrive continually from every part of the empire and rapid decisions have to be taken. Another time he is inspecting his school of painters, passing quickly among them and appraising their work Or he will go down to the workshop, and turn carpenter or stonemason He is especially fond of the foundry, and loves to found a cannon with his own hands

When at evening lights are lit in the great hall, the Emperor takes his seat among his courtiers and has books read to him, or music is played, and Akbar himself joins in

or he laughs at jests and stories. If there are foreigners present, he plies them with unceasing questions He will sit far into the night absorbed in discussions on religion· this is one of his dear delights. He drinks wine, or wine mixed with opium, and sometimes falls into a stupor: but this does not affect his terrible energy. Yet this crowded, pulsing life does not wholly absorb him. Frequently he will disappear and sit apart in solitary meditation for hours at a time.

Such is Akbar's way of life at court. But these are only intervals between campaigns, which he always opens with a hunt on an enormous scale. Even on his campaigns he will, when there is no need for swift marching, pursue much the same occupations.

Of how many notable people in the world's history does our knowledge seem so complete?

Yet do we really, after all, know Akbar the man? What is the truth about his character? Quite contrary opinions have been expressed; and many of his actions can be interpreted in opposite ways.

Since the witness of Akbar's own historian, Abul Fazl, may be thought too prejudiced—he is indeed fulsome in flattery, though he records with equanimity acts which, to us at any rate, are not very creditable—let us turn to the Jesuits; they certainly had no motive for giving Akbar more than his due.

"He never", says Bartoli, "gave anybody the chance to understand rightly his inmost sentiments or to know what faith or religion he held by, but in whatever way he could best serve his own interests he used to feed one party or the

other with the hope of gaining him to itself, humouring each side with fair words. A man apparently free from guile, as honest and candid as could be imagined, but in reality so close and self-contained, with twists of words and deeds so divergent from each other and most times so contradictory, that even by much seeking one could not find the clue to his thoughts"

That is one view the portrait of a consummate dissembler, open in appearance, inwardly subtle and deceitful and bent only on his own aggrandisement And if this clue be accepted, it is easy to read Akbar's actions in that light. When he is humane to an enemy or traitor—and his humanity seemed extraordinary to his contemporaries—he can be represented as humane only from policy. And his wars of aggression, which some have represented to have been undertaken from the noblest motives only, have been pictured by others as merely the behaviour of "a pike in pond, preying on its weaker neighbours." In fact, the truth about Akbar is not simple; his was by nature a complex character, in the intricacy of circumstances its complexity was bound to be increased. But let us try to approach it a little closer.

The Jesuits came into contact with Akbar through discussions on religion. He had sent for them of his own accord, and they had hoped to convert him. But they had every excuse for being exasperated with him, since he always in the end eluded their grasp, and nothing is more natural than Bartoli's angry outburst But when the question of religion is in abeyance, when the ground is neutral and there is no occasion for prejudice, we find a different tone.

"*The king is by nature simple and straightforward.*" These are the words of the Jesuit Monserrate, who accom-

panied Akbar on his Kabul expedition; and the occasion wa the discovery by Akbar of treachery on the part of a man h had loaded with honours. "Naturally humane, gentle an kind" is the phrase of Peruschi. "Just to all men", say another.

"By nature simple and straighforward": that, I think, i the truth; but we must stress a little that *by nature*. For tha a man should live the life led by Akbar, accomplish what h accomplished, and succeed in being always simple an straightforward, would be something of a miracle. In continual danger from his boyhood, he was surrounded by treachery, jealousy and intrigue. He seldom knew whom he could trust He had continually to wear a mask and to hide his thoughts in self-defence. The astonishing thing is that he did not end in protecting himself by an armour of permanent suspicion and guile, but that he would often trust men after they had proved unfaithful, still seeking to find 'if any portion of good remains in that evil nature', as he said on one occasion. But was he to be trusted himself? Not perhaps when ambition possessed him, or a great scheme was at stake We shall find, when we come to recount them, certain events in which he cannot be acquitted of unscrupulous and even perfidious behaviour. And yet fundamentally, I am persuaded, he was honest and sincere. See how, when he meets a transparently honest nature, like Ridolfo Aquaviva, the mutual liking is instinctive.

"Naturally humane and kind." Every one was struck by this aspect of Akbar's character, remarkable indeed in one who had the absolute powers of an autocrat and who suffered so much from faithless servants. Yet he could be fiercely cruel in his anger. Historians are accustomed to

querors' due. To Akbar with his direct vision they seemed unjust; and though hardly more than a boy, against all tradition, against the opposition of every one, he abolished them. It was again in the teeth of the most dangerous opposition that he made overtures to the Jesuits and seemed on the verge of adopting Christianity. What held him back in the end? It was the thought to which, with a child's obstinacy, he was always returning: there are good men professing every creed, and each proclaiming his creed to be true, all the others false; how can one be sure that he is right? He was the antithesis of a bigot. On the other hand, he was anything but indifferent. For in this man of action, this lover of life, whose body exulted in its strength and who strode through the world so confidently, there was hidden a profound capacity for sadness, self-doubting thoughts, dissatisfaction, a craving for illumination. From boyhood he had, from time to time, mystical experiences, in which he seemed to be given direct communion with the Divine Presence; and on his death-bed, when he was past recognising men and past all speech, while eager theologians hung over him in the hope to direct the departing soul, he was heard murmuring to himself and endeavouring to articulate the name of God. So it was that the Jesuit fathers, intent to win all of him or nothing, supposed him to be tortuously evading them for some subtle policy of his own, whereas it was really his own baffled simplicity of reasons, never able to surrender itself to authority from without, which in its turn baffled them. There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was, above all things, human.

XI

TUKARAM, RAMDAS AND SHIVAJI

TUKARAM · Tukaram More was a *vani*, or grocer by caste, and came of a family of petty traders who lived at Dehu, a beautiful little village fourteen miles to tha north-east of Poona The earliest known ancestor of Tukaram was one Vishvambhar who is said to have erected a temple to Krishna and Rukmini on the banks of the Indrayani. He left two sons. They abandoned the family business, took service in the Ahmadnagar army and fell in action This unfortunate mishap stamped itself on the family. For six generations afterwards, the Mores were deeply religious and closely attached to the worship of the god Vithoba of Pandharpur. Tukaram's father was one Boloji, and his mother was named Kankai Their eldest son was Savji, their second son was Tukaram Their third son was Kanhoba. The date of Tukaram's birth is uncertain. According to Rajwade he was born in Shaka 1490 (A D. 1568-69). According to Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar he was born is Shaka 1530 (A. D. 1607-8). His eldest brother Savji developed from earliest youth so strong a taste for the ascetic life that Boloji found it impossible to take him into his shop as an assistant So when Tukaram was only thirteen years old, his father initiated him into the secrets of the grocery trade. For the next five years Tukaram helped to keep the accounts. When he grew older he received as a bride a girl called Rakma His wife, however, grew delicate Boloji therefore married Tukaram to a girl called Jijabai, the daughter of one Appaji Gulve, a Poona money-lender. On her marriage, Tukaram

gave her the name of Avalai. When Tukaram was eighteen years old, his father Boloji died, Kankai died soon afterwards. The unhappy Tukaram was left to carry on the family business, to support his two wives, his eldest brother Savji whose ascestic life rendered him useless as a bread-winner, and his youngest brother Kanhoba who was still a child. Tukaram's gentle nature proved unequal to the task. He was too soft-hearted to take rigorous measures against his debtors. So they one after another repudiated their debts. Before the shop could recover from this shock, there was a famine. Tukaram became a bankrupt. His delicate wife Rakma died of privation. Her little son Shivaji did not long survive her. Savji left Dehu to go to some distant shrine and was never heard of again.

These calamities completely changed Tukaram's life. From being an active although a too kind-hearted business man, his thoughts turned, as Savji's had done, to religion and he became a whole-hearted devotee of Vithoba of Pandharpur. Indeed, but for his wife Avalai's influence, he would have disappeared like his elder brother. Her name has become equivalent to a scold or termagant, the Maratha synonym of Xanthippe. Yet there is no doubt that she saved Tukaram. For him and for their children she worked like a common labourer. She begged food and money for them from her parent's house. And if she at times lost her temper, this is not surprising She was never sure that her husband would not give what she had begged to a passing tramp One day indeed while she was bathing, he gave away her clothes But Tukaram's devotion to the god Vithoba came, in course of time, to have its reward. Once a farmer employed him to drive the birds away from his crop. Tukaram, however, soon became lost in his dreams of the

Pandharpur god And when the farmer returned he found that the birds had eaten up almost his entire crop. He dragged Tukaram to the village headman and made him execute a bond for two *khandis* of grain, that is to say a bumper crop, and in return to take over the produce of the ruined field. The transaction over, Avalai made Tukaram reap what remained. He did so and to the amazement of the villagers and the disgust of the farmer, the reaped crop amounted to eighteen *khandis*. The god had worked a miracle on his worshipper's behalf. Avalai was overjoyed. But her joy was shortlived. Her husband resolved to return to Vithoba what Vithoba had given and devoted the proceeds of the crop to repairing the temple which his ancestor Vishvambhar had built many years before.

Avalai made a last effort to give her husband a fresh start in business. She borrowed Rs. 200 from her father and sent Tukaram with a party of hawkers to sell the goods bought by her with the money. All went well until the hawkers reached Supa. There, Tukaram witnessed the eviction of a poor indebted Brahman. Tukaram gave at once his goods to satisfy the Brahman's creditors. Then slipping away from his companions, he walked to Pandharpur, where he joined the crowd of devotees who worshipped before Vithoba's image. The villagers of Dehu were now satisfied that Tukaram was a lunatic. When he returned home, they put a necklace of onions round his neck, mounted him on a donkey and paraded him through the streets to be mocked at by the crowd. The unhappy Tukaram fled from the village and hid in the Bhambunath hills. His brother Kanhoba went in search of him and having found him begged him either to return to Dehu and

manage the family business or to let him do it. Tukaram went back with him. The brothers agreed to divide the bonds passed to their father by his debtors. The division complete, Tukaram flung his share of the bonds into the Indrayani. He then went back to his hiding place in the Bhambunath hills. His wife Avalai tracked him out and daily brought him his dinner. One day a thorn entered her foot and made her faint with the pain. Touched with Avalai's devotion he returned home with her. But it was impossible for him to take up again the petty cares and duties of a grocer. In the silence of the hills there had come to him the poet's inspiration, and from the day of his return to that of his death, he never ceased to write poems either in praise of Vithoba or narrating incidents in his own life. They are written in the *abhang* metre. They are rudely constructed, but full of force, and above all they embody to the fullest extent the pure teaching of the doctrines of Pandharpur.

Ramdas: Ramdas was a later contemporary of Tukaram. He was the son of certain Suryajipant and his wife Ranubai. For a long time they had no children. But they prayed diligently to the Sun-god for off-spring. At last he appeared to them and promised that they should have two sons. One of them would be an incarnation of himself, the other of Maruti the monkey-god, who helped the divine hero Ramchandra. A year afterwards Ranubai gave birth to a son whom she named Gangadhar, and three years later she gave birth to a second son whom she called Narayan in honour of the Sun-god. From their earliest years both children showed a taste for religion and it is said that to Narayan, when only five years old, was vouchsafed a vision of Maruti. According to the custom of the time

Gangadhar, was married when seven years old. A year or two later Narayan's marriage was arranged. But from his earliest years Narayan showed an intense dislike for the married state At last he compromised by promising his mother that he would do or say nothing until he came to that part of the ceremony when the cloth which separates the married pair is withdrawn. She hoped that then Narayan would feel it too late to go back. When the priests, however, were about to repeat the verses that complete the ceremony, they as usual cried out to the audience: *Savadhan* or "Be on your guard". Narayan instantly fled from the room and was not found for some days afterwards Suryajipant and Ranubai now gave up the idea of marrying their son, and let him wander about the various shrines of India. Numerous stories exist of the miracles worked by him while yet a child. Of these the most interesting is the following, for it shows the great capacity of him with whom Shivaji was so much associated.

One day Narayan went to beg at the house of the *kulkarni* of Shahapur near Karad He found the ladies in a state of great perplexity. A Musulman officer from Bijapur had just arrested the *kulkarni* on a charge of misappropriation and had taken him away to the capital. Narayan overtook the officer and his victim and went with him At Bijapur he posed as the *Kulkarni's* clerk and so perfect was his knowledge of accounts, that he was able to convince the authorities that the charge was false.

When Narayan grew to manhood he established himself at Chaphal in the Satara district. There he built a temple to the hero-god Ramchandra and, believing himself to be an incarnation of the monkey-god Maruti, he changed

his name from Narayan to Ramdas which, being interpreted, means "the slave of Rama".

Ramdas and Shivaji: Gradually the fame of the new saint spread over Maharashtra and attracted to Chaphal a number of disciples. In course of time it reached the ears of Shivaji. The latter had just started his wonderful career. One day a Hindu *gosavi*, or mendicant, advised him to take a guru, or spiritual preceptor, as that was the surest way to obtain salvation. The young hero consulted Bhavani and from her learnt that Ramdas was his destined guru. Shivaji at once went to Chaphal. Ramdas was not there when Shivaji reached it; so he had to return home with his wish ungratified. Not long afterwards he again went to Chaphal. Once more Ramdas was absent But the prince wandered in search of him to Mahabaleshwar, Wai and Mahuli. At last Ramdas, who knew that Shivaji sought to find him, wrote him a letter. It was in verse and may be translated as follows:

"O Meru of Resolution, O Helper of many, of unchanged resolve, rich and master of your passions! O thou who pourest benefits on others, whose qualities are incomparable; Lord of men, horses and elephants! Lord of forts, earth and ocean! Leader and king, who art strong always. King triumphant and famous, powerful and generous, meritorious, virtuous and wise. Possessed ever of conduct and judgment, generosity and faith, knowledge and character. Bold and generous, grave and daring, swift to execute. Thou who by thy vigilance didst spurn kings. The holy places were broken. The abodes of Brahmans were polluted. All earth was shaken. Religion had fled Narayan resolved to protect the gods,

the faith, the cows, the Brahmans and inspired thee to do so. Near thee are many wise pandits, great poets, men skilled in sacrifice and learned in the Vedas; men quick and shrewd and fitted to lead assemblies. None of this earth protects the faith as thou dost. Because of thee some of it has lingered in Maharashtra. A few have sheltered themselves with thee and still some holy acts are done. Honour to thy glory! It has spread all over the earth. Some evil men thou hast killed. Some have fled in terror. Some thou hast pardoned, King Shiva the fortunate! I have lived in thy country. But thou didst never ask for me. Thou didst forget me; why, I do not know. Thy councillors are all wise, the faith incarnate. What can I say to thee? It behoves thee to keep alive thy fame as the establisher of religion. Many are the affairs of state in which thou art busied. If I have written unreasonably, may I be pardoned"

Shivaji's desire to see the saint was stimulated by the praises contained in his letter He again went to Chaphal and not finding him, pressed one of his female disciples to disclose the saint's hiding place. She at last told the king that Ramdas was at Shringanwadi. She then offered her visitor food But Shivaji vowed that he would eat nothing until he had seen the object of his search. He procured a guide and at last found Ramdas. He was sitting under a tree and was composing verses for his famous *Dasbodh*. The king begged his pardon for his remissness in the past. In return the saint blessed the king. Shivaji then asked Ramdas to give him advice on the art of government, and after some little time he received a second metrical letter which may be translated as follows

"I bow to Ganapati the remover of obstacles. I bow to Saraswati, to the virtuous, to the saints, to the family gods, to Rama. If my hearers so wish, let them profit. If not, let them disregard my writing; I have written for the sake of your government. He who governs wisely obtains happiness. If your labours are untiring, you win in the end.

"First learn to know men. If you find a man is a worker, give him work to do. If he is useless, put him aside. To see, to understand, to labour, in this there is nothing amiss. Achievement depends on the quality of the worker. If he be industrious but at the same time obstinate, still be in your greatness indulgent. But if he be indolent and treacherous, then execute him. Learn correctly the thoughts of all. To keep men pleased, to keep the wicked sternly at a distance, these are the signs of good fortune. If a man has helped you reasonably, suffer him a little but not so that wrong may follow. Transgress not the bounds of justice. If they be transgressed, evil ensues. If there is no justice, there is no remedy. He who has wearied in ill-fortune, he whose head has been turned by good fortune, he who has proved coward in the hour of need, such are not true men. In evil times be not dospondent. Try every remedy; in the end all will be well. Keep all men under proper control. Then the wise will value your rule If there be no proper control, the government grows weak Do not go in the van of the battle. Such is not true statecraft There are many whom you can send as generals Have many officers. Do not appoint all to one task. Give them in your wisdom separate tasks. If a leader's pride is fired, he will not look to his life. Gather together many

leaders and then strike When the sheep see the tiger's claw, they flee on all sides. What can the proud buffalo do, big though he be? Let kings observe the religion of kings. Let Kshatriyas observe the religion of Kshatryas. Let your horses, weapons and horsemen be ever your first thought; so that when your picked troops approach, your enemies, great though they be, shall flee away.

"Thus I have spoken a few words on the art of government. When the minds of lords and servants are one it is good."

When Shivaji wished to return home, he presented the saint with a large sum of money, but Ramdas distributed it among his cowherds. The prince urged Ramdas to live with him. Ramdas declined, but he gave him as farewell gift a cocoanut, water, earth, a few pebbles and some horse dung These Shivaji took with him to his mother. Jijabai asked scornfully the meaning of such a present. Her son with rare insight had penetrated the sage's meaning. The water and the earth meant that Shivaji would conquer Maharashtra The pebbles meant that he would hold it by means of his fortresses The horse dung meant that he would win his greatest victories by means of his cavalry.

Tukaram and Shivaji: Unable to induce Ramdas to live with him permanently, Shivaji looked about for a more pliant saint He heard of Tukaram. That holy man, after his return to his village, had again suffered persecution, but had overcome it. The verses which he had composed on the Bambhunath hills were eagerly read and learned by the peasantry and petty traders. But the Brahmans who lived on the alms of pilgrims to the various shrines resented the competition of one who was of a

Shudra caste. One day, as Tukaram sat on the Banks of the Indrayani composing verses, some Brahman medicants seized his books an flung them into the river. But the god whom he loved saved them and restored them, dry and uninjured after thirteen days of immersion. Another time when Tukaram went to a village called Vagholi, a learned Brahman scholar, named Rameshwar, induced the herdsmen to drive Tukaram away. Not long afterwards the same Rameshwar was attacked by some ailment He went to Alandi and prayed at Dnyandev's shrine that he might be cured. One night he saw in a dream the great teacher He told Rameshwar that this ailment had come to him as a punishment for his treatment of Tukaram Let Rameshwar ask Tukaram's pardon and treat him with honour instead of contumely and the ailment would go. Rameshwar obeyed the saint's command and was cured of his illness In his gratitude he sang far and wide the praises of Tukaram. In this way Shivaji came to hear of him He sent a messenger and a body of horse to convey Tukaram to him But the saint felt that the camp of a highspirited and warlike prince was no place for him. He declined the invitation in a metrical letter.

This refusal only whetted Shivaji's wish to see Tukaram. He left his camp and joining Tukaram led with him for several days the life of a religious devotee. From this condition he was rescued by the influence of his mother Jijabai The blood of ancient kings boiled in the proud woman's veins at the thought that her son should give up a hero's life for that of a wandering beggar, and her entreaties, joined to those of Tukaram, induced Shivaji to return to his duties as a warrior and a prince.

Yet, although both Tukaram and Ramdas refused to

live as religious preceptors with Shivaji, he never lost touch with them. Several times afterwards he attended *kirtans* or religious recitations given by Tukaram. This on one occasion nearly cost the king his life. He had invited Tukaram to visit Poona and recite a *katha*, or sacred story, at the temple where Shivaji as a child so often worshipped. Somehow the news of his design reached the ears of his enemies. A body of Afghans stole forth with orders to take Shivaji as he listened to Tukaram. The Afghans surrounded the temple and searched for the prince among the audience. With admirable coolness the saint continued his recitation and Shivaji sat perfectly still listening to it. Nevertheless he would surely have been taken, but for what is believed to have been the divine interposition of the god Krishna. As the Afghans searched, a man in face and in clothes closely resembling Shivaji rose and slipping through the guards ran out of the door. The Afghans rushed out of the temple to seize him. But he ran with incredible swiftness towards Sinhgad. And although mounted Afghans ran close to his heels, they never could quite catch him. On reaching the forest at the great fort he dived into a thicket and disappeared. In the meantime Tukaram continued his story. When it was over, Shivaji and the rest of the audience returned home unmolested.

But it was with Ramdas that Shivaji was peculiarly associated. Tukaram indeed did not long survive his meeting with Shivaji One day as he was leaving his home he told his wife Avalai that he was going to *vaikuntha*, the god Krishna's heaven. He went to the banks of the Indrayani and, so it is believed, flung himself into the river either in a state of religious excitement or because he suffered from some incurable disease. At any rate he never

returned home again. His followers believed—and the belief still finds in the Deccan wide acceptance—that the chariot of the hero-god Ramachandra descended from heaven and bore Tukaram back in it to the skies (A.D 1649).

Anecdotes of Ramdas and Shivaji : Ramdas on the other hand, outlived Shivaji and whenever the busy monarch could spare a few moments, he loved to visit the saint and hear from his lips sacred verses and religious discourses. Many touching stories exist which show how close was the friendship which the prince and the saint bore each other. One day, it is said, Shivaji, then at Pratapgad, heard that Ramdas was at Mahableshwar. He at once rode off to see him. On reaching Mahableshwar he learnt that Ramdas was no longer there. Shivaji plunged into the woods to over-take him. All day the king wandered vainly through the wild hill country. Night fell, but still he searched for Ramdas by torchlight. At last when the eastern sky began to pale, Shivaji came upon Ramdas in a tiny cave. He lay there groaning and seemed to be in great pain and sick unto death. Shivaji in great distress asked Ramdas how he might help his suffering friend The saint replied that there was but one cure in the world for such a malady as his. "Tell me what it is", said Shivaji, "and I will get it for you". "Nay", replied Ramdas, "to get it for me might cost you your life". "No matter", cried the generous hero, "gladly would I give my life to save yours". "Then", said Ramdas, "the medicine which alone cane save me is the milk of a tigress". Sword in hand went forth into the jungle the dauntless prince. In a short time he saw some tiger-cubs in a thicket. He entered it and, catching them, sat down by them to await their mother's return. An hour later the tigress came and, seeing her cubs in Shivaji's hands,

sprang upon him. The prince boldly faced the raging beast and told her that he but wished to give the dying saint a draught of her milk. The saint's name cowed the tigress. She let Shivaji go and allowed him to draw some of her milk and take it away to Ramdas's cave. There he gave some of it to Ramdas. His pain instantly left him. Then Ramdas in turn made Shivaji drink the rest of the milk. At once the scratches inflicted by the tigress when she first sprang on Shivaji healed And the king and his retinue rode back with Ramdas to the temple at Mahableshwar.

Another time, so it is said, Shivaji was at Satara Ramdas, who was at Mahuli at the confluence of the Krishna and Venna, went to beg upon Jaranda Hill, a holy spot a few miles to the east of Mahuli. The king was also visiting the Jaranda temple and met Ramdas. The saint asked for alms Shivaji wrote some words on a piece of paper and dropped it into the swami's lap Ramdas picked it up and read in it a grant by Shivaji of his entire kingdom. The saint affected to accept the grant and for the whole day Shivaji, having no longer any property, acted as his servant. At the close of the day Ramdas asked Shivaji how he liked the change from kingship to service Shivaji replied that he was quite happy, no matter what his state, provided that he was near his preceptor. Ramdas then returned the grant and said, "Take back your kingdom. It is for kings to rule and for Brahmans to do worship." Nevertheless Shivaji insisted that the saint should bestow on him his sandals as Rama had done to his brother Bharata, so that the world might know that Ramdas and not he was the true king. He also chose for his flag the orange-brown banner which the pilgrims carry when they go to worship Krishna at Pandharpur.

Another time, so it is said, Shivaji begged Ramdas to live with him always and let him serve him as he had done for a single day at Jaranda. Ramdas asked him in return whether, instead of serving him, Shivaji would grant him three boons. Shivaji said that he would do so gladly.

The boons asked for were :—

(1) Shivaji should in the month of Shravan, or August, honour Shiva by giving feasts to Brahmans and by distributing images of the great god, whose incarnation he was deemed to be;

(2) he should distribute *dakshina*, or gifts of money to Brahmans in Shravan; and

(3) he should honour the hero-god Ramchandra by ordering his subjects when they met to say to each other by way of greeting, "Ram Ram".

Shivaji granted all these boons and "Ram Ram" are still the words of greeting used by the Deccan Hindus when they meet.

Yet another time Shivaji was building a fort at Samangad in Kolhapur territory As he watched it, he felt a natural pride that he should be able to support all the workmen that the work needed. Just then Ramdas came up Shivaji, after saluting him, walked with him round the base of the fortress. On their way they passed a boulder. Ramdas called to some stone-cutters and bade them break it in pieces. The stone-cutters did so. In the heart of it was a cavity half filled with water. Out of the water jumped a frog. Ramdas turned to Shivaji and said, "O king, who but you could have placed water in the middle of the stone and thus saved the frog?" Shivaji dis-

claimed any connexion with the matter. But when Ramdas insisted, he guessed that the saint was rebuking him for his vanity. He at once acknowledged his fault and admitted that it was God who had alike provided for the needs of the frog and for those of the workmen at Samangad.

But if Ramdas dared to rebuke the great king to his face, he refused always to go beyond his own sphere of action. Peter the Hermit, having inspired a crusade, aspired afterwards to lead it. The foolish Scotch ministers led their countrymen to ruin on the field of Dunbar. But when Shivaji, on hearing of Afzal Khan's march from Bijapur, asked for Ramdas' advice, the wise Brahman bade the king pray for counsel to Bhavani. He knew that if God had given him power to move men's hearts by verse and prayer, God had given to Shivaji other and greater powers and that his resourceful mind, if left to itself, would find a key to every difficulty.

Ramdas would have liked always to lead the wandering life, such as had been his before Shivaji first sought him. But the king insisted that he should make his headquarters at some easily accessible spot. He bestowed on the saint, the fortress of Parali, a wild hill some six miles south-west of Satara. Ramdas reluctantly accepted the gift and built there a temple to Maruti. For the use of the temple the king assigned to Ramdas the revenue of Chaphal and 32 other villages. As he grew older, Ramdas came to spend more and more of his time at Parali. It was there that Shivaji paid him his last visit. It was there that Sambhaji, reeking with the blood of Rajaram's friends, sought but was denied an interview. At last the wise old Brahman felt his end approaching His disciples felt it also and gave way to grief But Ramdas' courage never forsook him. He

rebuked their tears and composed for them the following verses:

> "Although my body has gone I shall still live in spirit Grieve not. Read my books. They will show you the way to salvation. Heed not unduly the wants of the body. Fall not into evil ways, and to you doors of salvation will open. Keep ever in your heart the image of the god Rama."

A few minutes later the dying saint called out the words "Har! Har!" twenty-one times. Then his lips whispered the words "Ram! Ram!" His eyes sought the image of the hero-god, and a flame, so it seemed to the onlookers left his mouth and entered that of the image His discples called to him, but he was dead. He had survived Shivaji less than a year. Ramdas' body was burnt to the north of Parali upon a pyre of *bael* and *tulsi* wood. His ashes were then gathered and taken to Chaphal, and after some interval were, at Sambhaji's cost, conveyed northward and cast reverently into the Ganges.

Shivaji. Shivaji has by a curious fate suffered more at the hands of historians, than any other character in history. They have one and all accepted as final the opinion of Grant Duff, which again was based on that of Khafi Khan. They have at the same time rejected Orme's far more accurate conclusions. And while judging Shivaji with utmost harshness, they have been singularly indulgent to his enemies. The thousand basenesses of Aunangzeb, the appalling villainies of the Bijapur and the Ahmadnagar nobles, have been passed over with a tolerant smile. The cruel trick by which Ghorpade betrayed Shahaji has provoked no comment. Shivaji, however, is depicted as the incarnation of successful perfidy, a Caesar Borgia to

whom there came no ill fortune, a more faithless and more daring Francesco Sforza. Nor can it be denied that the authors of the Hindu *Bakhars* are in some way responsible for this absurd and inaccurate legend. Hating the Musulmans with the fiercest of passions, they deemed no trap too inhuman provided that it brought about their enemies' downfall It was reserved for an Indian of modern times, M G. Ranade, a man truly great, judged by no matter what standard, to see correctly the deep religious feeling, the many virtues, the chivalrous temper and the vast ability of the great Maratha king.

If Shivaji had been a treacherous assassin, such as he has been commonly portrayed, he would never have achieved what he did. The high-born, high-spirited Deccan nobles would never have accepted his leadership; or if they had, they would have copied their leader and become as treacherous as he. The fact that no one ever betrayed Shivaji is strong evidence that he himself was not a betrayer. Starting with this premise, Ranade next examined the evidence and pointed out that with one exception the instances of treachery mentioned by Grant Duff were all capable of innocent interpretation. The capture of Purandhar was effected by the consent of the garrison and the subsequent acquiescence of the commandants. The killing of Afzal Khan was an act of self-defence. The one exception was the attack on Chandra Rao More. Later investigation, however, has shown that even this instance had not the sinister character usually attributed to it. From the recently discovered Mahableshwar account, it is clear that Shivaji repeatedly strove to win More to his side, that More as often tried treacherously to take Shivaji prisoner and that he eventually fell in a quarrel between him and Ragho Ballal

Atre, while the latter was delivering him an ultimatum. Shivaji was thus clearly innocent of More's death. The most that can be said against him is that he did not punish Ragho Ballal as he should have done. But the same charge can be brought against William III. His most ardent admirers have been forced to admit that he punished neither the murderers of the De Witts nor those guilty of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

It is difficult, without writing in a strain that may seem exaggerated to English readers, to give to Shivaji the place in history to which he is rightly entitled. He has been compared, not unhappily, with Bruce. Neverthe-less the comparison does the eastern prince less than justice. Bruce had, it is true, to cheer the spirit of the Scottish nation, depressed by the defeat of Falkirk and the capture and death of Wallace But the Scottish people had been free for centuries. Naturally high-spirited and brave, they were eager to gather round anyone who would help them drive out the hated English. Shivaji had to create his victorious army from the half savage hillmen of the western ghats, wholly ignorant of war, and from the Marathas of the plains, broken by three hundred years of servitude To Shivaji's warlike genius were joined civil talents of the highest order. While training troops, devising strategy, inventing tactics, scouring the Deccan in every direction, he yet found time to think out a system of administration which, as Ranade has pointed out, is the basis of British success. The curse of Indian governments had always been the power of the feudal nobility, which grew dangerous directly not central authority weakened Shivaji was wise enough not only to see the disease, but to invent a remedy. He refused to make grants of lands to his nobles. He governed his

territories by means of paid agents, *kamavisdars*, *mahalkaris* and *subhedars* They could be dismissed at will and were so dismissed on proof of incapacity or insubordination, They collected the assessment due from the peasants and paid it into the royal treasury. From the treasury Shivaji paid his soldiers and officers regular salaries It was not, however, possible for a single man, however able, to check all the accounts which such payments and receipts involved. Shivaji therefore created two ministers. The first was the *Pant Amatya* or Finance Minister The second was the *Pant Sachiv* or, as we should call him, the Accountant General.

Besides these two ministers Shivaji nominated six others, who helped him in his general administration. They also, curiously enough, had duties similar to modern members of the Indian government.* The Peshwa was the President of the Council. The *Mantri* was the Home Member. The *Senapati* was the Commander-in-Chief. The *Sumant* was the Foreign Minister. Besides the above, there were the *Panditrao* who was in charge of ecclesiastical matters, and the *Sainyayadhish* or Cheif Justice Today no merit, however great, enables a man to bequeath his charge to his son. In the same way Shivaji would not permit sons to succeed their fathers in office, unless themselves fully qualified Nor would he allow men to retain posts which they were incompetent to fill So wise indeed were these provisions, that they were beyond the grasp of Shivaji's successors. They once more let office become hereditary. They granted great landed fiefs to which incompetent men succeeded because they were their father's sons. Their folly had its reward and in the end Shivaji's kingdom went the way of other eastern empires.

*British Indian Government

Shivaji was also shrewd enough to see that light assessments were the secret of large revenues. While in the neighbouring states the peasant was lucky if he escaped with an assessment of 50 per cent, Shivaji never demanded more than two-fifths of the gross yield. *Tagai*, or advances by the government to the cultivators, often wrongly believed to be a modern institution, were freely granted, and their repayment was extended over several years. While taxing the peasantry, Shivaji, unlike his neighbours, realized that in return for taxes they were entitled to protection. He divided his kingdom into fifteen districts, all amply provided with great fortresses. They were close enough together for their garrisons to assist each other and drive away marauding bands. They also afforded shelter to which the cultivators could take their cattle or their crops upon the first appearance of the enemy.

The government of these forts was admirably conceived. The commandant was a Maratha. Under him was a Brahman *subhedar* or *sabnis* who kept the accounts and had civil and revenue charge of the villages assigned to the upkeep of the fort, and a Prabhu *karkhanis* who was responsible that the garrison had ample military supplies and food stores. Thus, although the garrison was under the orders of the commandant, any treachery on his part would at once have become known to his chief subordinates. The soldiers of the garrison were paid regular salaries and every tenth man was a *naik*, or corporal, who received a slightly higher emolument. Where villages were not assigned to the upkeep of any fort, Shivaji for administrative purposes arranged them much as the British since have done. The [illegible] was the [illegible] of which the revenue [illegible] Rs [illegible] to Rs [illegible]. Three [illegible] made

a *subha* or district. Each district was in charge of a *subhedar* whose pay was 400 *hons* a year, or about Rs. 100 a month.

Shivaji's military establishment was organized with the same care and skill as the garrisons of his fortresses. A battalion of 1,000 men under a *hazari* was the infantry unit. This was divided into ten companies, called *jumalas*, each under a *jumaledar*. Each company was divided into half companies of fifty men, each under a *havildar* or sergeant Each half company was divided into five bodies of ten sepoys, of which the chief was the *naik* or corporal. Seven such battalions formed a brigade, under a *sainobat* or brigadier. The cavalry system was slightly different. The unit was a cavalry regiment 1,250 strong. Its commander was, like the infantry commander, called a *hazari* The regiment was divided into ten *jumalas*, or squadrons of 125 troopers Each *jumala* was subdivided into five sections or *havalas* consisting of 25 *bargirs* or troopers. Each such section had its own farrier and water-carrier Five *hazaris* formed a cavalry brigade, under a brigadier known as the *panch hazari*. The pay of these officers was carefully regulated. The brigadiers received 2,000 *hons* a year, or Rs 500 a month. In the cavalry the regimental commander's pay was 1,000 *hons* a year, or Rs. 250 a month. In the infantry the battalion commander received 500 *hons* or Rs. 125 a month The pay of the cnmpany commander and his subordinates varied from Rs 9 to Rs. 3 a month The pay of squadron commanders and their subordinates varied from Rs. 20 to Rs. 6. During the rainy season the troops and horses were fed at the king's expense in large barracks. In the fair season they were expected to live on the enemy's country But no private looting was allowed. All prize-money or other plunder had, under pain of forfeiture of

his surety bonds, to be paid by its captor into the regimental treasury. From it the commanders fed and furnished their troops.

But, great organizer and military genius that Shivaji was, it is in far-seeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders, both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind. He won victory after victory against Bijapur and the Mughals, yet his head was never turned. He realized always that he had yet to meet the full power of the Mughal empire His one aim was to secure the freedom of his countrymen. That he might do so, he sought to win the friendship of Aurangzeb. When that proved impossible, he resolved to secure a place of shelter against the coming peril which he clearly foresaw At last there came a time when his genius bore fruit. Four years after Shivaji's death, the Emperor realized that the Marathas were a serious danger. He ceased to send a succession of small armies to Aurangabad He mobilized the whole military resources of northern India and an army several hundred thousand strong, led by the Emperor in person, poured through the Vindhya passes to the conquest of the south. Within three years both Golconda and Bijapur had fallen. Within five years all Maharashtra was overrun Sambhaji had been taken and executed. Shahu and his mother were prisoners in Aurangzeb's camp. But the Maratha generals, headed by Rajaram, adhered to the strategy laid down by the great king. Falling behind the southern line of fortresses, built by Shivaji from Bednur to Tanjore, they held the south against the might of all Hindustan. At length the great

offensive weakened. The Maratha captains in their turn began to attack. Slowly but surely they drove the Delhi forces back again across the frontier of the old imperial possessions. At last Aurangzeb, his treasury empty, his grand army destroyed, died a broken man in his camp at Ahmadnagar. Maharashtra was free, Southern India was safe. The single wisdom of the great king, dead twenty-seven years before, had supplied the place of two hundred battalions

But there was yet another side of the character of this versatile prince In an earlier chapter I have sketched his relations with Ramdas and Tukaram. But they were not the only wise and pious men to whom Shivaji was drawn. The poet Mahipati has, in the *Bhaktivijaya*, told the story how the great king went from Pandharpur into the woods to visit an Ujjain mendicant called Ganeshnath Shivaji made Ganeshnath return with him to his camp and gave him a soft bed with rich coverlets to sleep upon. But the mendicant shamed the king by strewing pebbles over the downy mattress Shivaji took the lesson so to heart that he sold the couch and gave its price in charity, sleeping ever afterwards on a village cot. Other friends of Shivaji were Keval Bharati of Kenjal, Taponidhi Devbharati of Khandesh and Siddheshwarbhat of Chakan He even extended his favour to a Musalman fakir named Bava Yakub. Such was the liberator of the Maratha nation, a man of talents so varied, of life so regular, of disposition so tolerant, that it is little wonder that his countrymen came to regard him not as one of themselves but as the incarnation of a god. His kingdom has long passed away; but the Maratha people still worship his image at Raygad and Malwan, just as the Athenians, long after their empire had ceased to exist,

continued to worship with pathetic devotion the memory of Theseus

Shivaji was in all married seven times His first wife, Saibai, was the daughter of Vithoji Mohite Newaskar. An affectionate and charming lady, she became by a curious freak of fortune the mother of the headstrong and wayward Sambhaji. Happily for her, she died too soon to see her baby grow into a vicious and headstrong man. She bore also to Shivaji a daughter named Ambikabai who was given in marriage to Harji Baje Mahadik of Tarale, appointed by the king to be governor of Jinji. Shivaji's second wife was Putalibai. She bore him no children and, faithful unto death, committed *sati* upon her husband's funeral pyre Shivaji's third wife was Soyarabai, a girl of the Shirke family. Beautiful, talented and politic, she was the mother of the brave and chivalrous Rajaram, the second founder of the Maratha empire She had a daughter named Dipabai who married a Maratha noble named Visajirai. Shivaji's fourth wife was Sakwarbai whose only daughter Kamaljabai became the wife of Janoji Palkar. Shivaji's fifth wife, Lakshmibai, had no issue Shivaji's sixth wife, Sagunabai, bore him a single daughter Nanibai whom he gave in marriage to Ganoji Raje Shirke Malekar. His seventh wife Gunvantabai was childless

The great king's body was cremated at Raygad which, looking down on a hundred lesser peaks, formed a fitting resting place for that commanding spirit.

XII

GURU GOVIND SINGH

GOVIND SINGH was the tenth and last of the Sikh Pontiffs (Gurus), and was born at Patna in Bihar where his father, Guru Tej Bahadur, had accompanied one of the Rajput generals of the Mughal Emperor

Tej Bahadur, on his return from Patna, defied the Emperor Aurangzeb by espousing the cause of some persecuted Kashmiri Brahmans who had approached him for his help In other ways also he had come into conflict with the imperial authorities in the Punjab. The Emperor summoned the Guru to Delhi, and, after the usual offer of Islam or death, Tej Bahadur was executed in 1675, and his body was publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi. At the place where the execution took place now stands the Gurudwara of Shish Ganj.

Govind Singh succeeded his father as Guru at the early age of fifteen Tej Bahadur had left his son supreme and uncontested power over a united community, strong not only in its religious devotion, but in a rare combination of discipline and martial spirit He had also bequeathed to his son a tradition of implacable hostility towards the Muslims in general and the Mughal Empire in particular, as his last wish was that his son should revenge the ignominy with which he had been put to death in Delhi.

The community, to the spiritual and temporal headship of which Govind had succeeded at this early age, was no longer the pietist sect which Nanak (1469-1539) had founded. Nanak, like Kabir, Ramanand and others whom he accepted

as his predecessors, was content to gather round him men of cognate spirit and to preach to them the message of love and humility But under his successors, more especially Gurus Ramdas, Arjun and Har Govind, the teachings of Nanak underwent a gradual and unseen but fundamental change. The disciples of the Guru were gradually differentiated from the rest of the community and became in time a numerous and powerful sect.

Guru Ramdas dug the sacred pool, later known as Amritsar or the pool of nectar, in one of the villages given to him, it is said, by the Mughal Emperor. Arjun, his son and successor, organised the rudiments of a temporal government and accustomed his followers to the secular authority of the Guru and taxation through his officer. He also established his capital at Amritsar and assumed regal dignities. But it was Har Govind, the son of Arjun, who transformed what was till then merely a religious community into a martial people. He himself appeared in Durbar fully armed and was surrounded by numerous armed retinue His followers also began to allude to him as "Sachi Padshah', or the "True King"—a mystic title which combined spiritual authority with temporal sovereignty.

At the time of Govind's succession to the pontificate in 1675, the community had gained many adherents in the Eastern punjab. It had also acquired considerable prestige among the Hindu population in the Province by its continuous fight against the authority of the Muslim rulers.

There was a further factor which gave additional importance to the growing Sikh community. For over 600 years the Hindus in the Punjab had been subjected to Muslim rule. During that long period, not only had their political

independence vanquished, but their manliness of spirit had been practically extinguished. Punjab, as the doorway of Hindustan, was the one area which had been continuously under Muslim rule Nanak himself had been greatly moved by the degradation of his race, and in one of his songs he bewailed :

> "You wear a loin cloth, sacrificial mark and a rosary,
> And yet you earn your living from those whom you call mlechchhas ;
> You perform the Hindu worship in private,
> Yet, oh my brothers, you read the books of Mohammedans and adopt their manners."

The gradual transformation of Nanak's sect into a martial community gave to the Hindus of the Punjab a new hope, a new feeling of self-respect; and in times of persecution, as already alluded to in the case of the Kashmiri Brahmans, they turned to the Gurus of the Sikhs for help and support.

On Govind's succession to the Guruship, his chief followers decided that it was not safe for one so young to be exposed to the enmity of the Mughal Emperor. He was, therefore quietly taken to Anandpur. a small settlement which the late Guru had founded at the foot of the Himalayas. For practically twenty years Govind lived in obscurity in this retreat, devoting himself to the study of Hindu classics and religion and preparing himself for the high responsibility which had fallen on him

The *Daswin Padshah Ka Granth*, or the "Book of the Tenth King", which is the contribution of Govind to the Sacred Book of the Sikhs, shows how deeply he studied the scriptures of the Hindus, not so much for religious inspiration as for imbibing in the fullest measure the national tradition

and culture of his race. He kept strictly to the teachings of he earlier Gurus about the unity of God, the inhumanity of caste and the meaninglessness of accumulated custom. But alone of the Gurus after Nanak, he was not only a genuine Hindu in outlook, but a profound student of the books, traditions and literature of his Aryan forefathers.

Another aspect of his study at the time which is well brought out by the *Chandi-ki-Charitr*, *Chandi-ki-Var*, and other contributions to the *Daswin Padshah Ka Granth*, is the emphasis on the martial exploits of ancient heroes in the Hindu Puranas. *Chandi-ki-Charitr* is the story of the Goddess' fight with the forces of evil described with all the realism of the most thrilling martial poetry. Govind in fact went to the Puranas to find inspiration for his people in the fight that he planned for them during his years of retirement.

He came out of his retirement in 1695, and proclaimed his mission to the world, not only as the Pontiff of his community, but as a national leader of a revived Hindu nation. This mission he explained in *Vichitra Natak* or the "Strange Drama", a composition of his own in which the Almighty is said to declare to him:

"I extol cherish thee as my own son.
I send thee to form a separate new faith.
Go and spread it, the light of righteousness,
And refrain people from senseless acts"

And again:

"For this purpose was I born,
And to spread this religion the Lord appointed me:
'Go and spread righteousness everywhere,
And seize and destory the wicked and the tyrannical'.

For this purpose was I born,
And this let all the virtuous understand:
To advance righteousness, to emancipate the good,
And to destroy all evil-doers, root and branch."

This it may be noticed *en passant* is a literal translation of a famous passage in the *Bhagavad Gita* where Krishna says:

Paritranaya sadunam vinashayacha duskritam
Dharmasamsthapanarthaya sambhavami yuge yuge.

The first active step Govind took in order to give effect to his ideals was to organise the Sikhs into a disciplined and closely knit body under his own uncontested authority. For this purpose on the 1st of Baishak, 1699, he announced the establishment of the Khalsa (literally the "liberated"), and laid down that, in order to be one of his true followers, a disciple must take *Pahul* and wear the five "K s", being *Kesh*, *Kara*, *Kank*, *Katch* and *Kripan* These five are in themselves extremely symbolic

The *Kesh* is the hair which a Sikh is not allowed to shave or shear. *Kara* is an iron bangle which is to be worn on the hand *Kank* is the comb which is to be worn on the hair. *Katch* is the short trousers and *Kripan* is the sword.

These, apart from the *kripan*, are all symbols of *diksha*, or dedication, according to Hindu religion. The *kesh* especially represents a vow, and it has been the oldest symbol of dedication in India. The comb is in order to keep the hair clean The iron bangle represents the determination to eschew all luxury, and the *katch*, which must always be worn perpetual readiness The *kripan*, or long sword, proclaims the martial purpose of the dedication of the Sikhs. In short,

the five "K.s" as they are called, were devised by Govind to impress on the Hindu mind the dedication of the Sikhs to the supreme task of liberating their people.

The *Pahul*, or the so-called baptism, was the process by which the different Hindu castes which formed the following of the Guru were united into one community. Govind realised that it was caste that stood in the way of any unification of the Hindus and that mere declarations against the inequity of the system would not break down its rigours. He therefore considered it essential that there must be a symbolic act which united the different castes into a single community. The *Pahul* is in no sense a baptism. It is the genuine Hindu tradition of *samskar*, or a *rite de passage*. The *Pahul* made the Sikh a *dvija*. It was a second birth.

He further laid down the motto that a true Sikh who was his follower must wholly dedicate himself to the faith and to him as the Guru. The Sikhs must be prepared for Kirtnash (loss of fame), Kulnash (loss of family), Dharmnash (loss of orthodox religion), Karmnash (loss of karma) in their devotion to the Khalsa and its chief. They were asked to add the suffix "Singh" or "lion", by tradition the suffix of the martial classes of north, to their names By these teachings he made the Khalsa, a disciplined army under the control of one dominating mind dedicated to the service of God.

The community which he established was in essence a theocracy which exacted unqualified submission to the will of the sovereign Pontiff who was not only the Guru of his disciples, but also the *Sachi Padshah* or "True King" of the community. The strength that this organisation gained caused jealousy among the petty chiefs of the hills neighbouring Anandpur, and they combined under Bhim Chand

to crush this rising power which threatened the allegiance of their own subjects.

In the battle that ensued at Bhangani, the Guru's forces were successful, and his prestige rose greatly in consequence. But the triumph was only shortlived as Govind has soon to meet a more powerful foe. Disquieting reports of the growth of this new power, so near his own capital, had reached the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, who was engaged on his campaign against the Marathas in the Deccan. The Viceroys of Sirhind and Lahore were ordered to march against Govind. The imperial armies beseiged Anandpur in 1701; and after undergoing great privations, Govind, who had been deserted by most of the followers till there were not more than forty left to bear his standard, secretly left Anandpur.

For the next seven years, in effect till the death of Aurangzeb, Govind had no peace. He was hunted and harassed by the Mughal armies, betrayed by friends and allies and shunned by those who hailed him first as the Saviour. Two of his sons fell on the battlefield. Two were bricked alive at Sirhind by the Mughal governor. Most of his followers, borne down by privations, deserted and only a handful were left with him. But the courage of Govind, made dauntless by his supreme sense of mission, never for a moment faltered.

In 1706, when his fortune seemed to have touched its nadir, the Guru wrote the celebrated epistle *Zafar Nama*, literally the Epistle of Victory, to the Mughal Emperor, in which he proudly remarked :

"What is the use of putting down a few sparks (meaning the murder of his sons) when flame of power is burning more fiercely than ever ?"

He denounced the Emperor for all the wrongs he had done; and, as became a religious leader, proudly proclaimed that he feared none but the King of Kings in whose presence the Emperor himself would have to answer for the tyranny he had exercised in this world. Aurangzeb was unmoved by the denunciation of an infidel, and sent a peremptory order to the Guru summoning him to his presence. But before even the order reached Govind, Aurangzeb passed away, and the Mughal Empire, which the personality of great Emperor had kept together, was rent by the dissensions of a war of succession.

This was Govind's opportunity. After seven years of incessant warfare which had reduced his following and crippled his material resources, the opportunity was now offered to him to intervene effectively in the affairs of the Empire itself. Bahadur Shah sent for Govind; and the Guru, supported by a numerous following which again gathered around him with this change in his fortune, appeared in the Mughal camp A military command is said to have been given to him; and he marched with the imperial troops to the Deccan where, on the banks of the Godavari, he was stabbed to death when asleep by a Pathan youth whose father had been killed by Govind in a private quarrel.

Govind was only forty-seven when he died, and the schemes which he had evolved in the retreat at Anandpur during his earlier days remained unfulfilled at his death. But the work he had done during the twelve years of his active ministry from 1695 to 1707 entitle him to be considered one of the truly great men of mediaeval India.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of Govind was his declaration that the mission of the Gurus had ended with him and that the Sikhs in future were to seek the guidance,

of God only in the collective voice of the community and in the sacred writings of the ten Gurus. By this momentous decision he saved the community from a hereditary theocracy. The final authority in all matters of the *panth* was left to the community itself, which was enjoined not to recognise any spiritual authority beyond that of the *Granth Sahib*, or the Sacred Book containing the teaching of the ten Gurus, or any temporal authority over the *panth*, except that of the community itself.

The history of the community before him had convinced Govind that succession to the Pontificate was the easy source of schism. It was also obvious to him that since his own sons were dead, an undisputed succession to the *Gaddi* was impossible at that critical juncture Govind, therefore, had no successors, and the Sikhs today acknowledge no spiritual authority beyond the Sacred Book and the collective conscience of the community.

It would be a mistake to think that Govind's influence as a teacher was confined to the Sikh community. There is ample evidence in his writings to show that it was the helpless and defenceless condition of the Hindus that acted as the supreme motive of his action. The Khalsa was to him the instrument for reviving the martial spirit of the Hindus and of reviving them as a nation The *Daswin Padshah Ka Granth* not only glorifies the deeds of the ancient Hindu heroes, but draws upon them for inspiration for the present. The *kripan* itself, which he adopted as the symbol of the Sikhs, was said to have been touched by Bhawani (the Mother-Goddess) after tantric ceremonies performed by a Brahman ascetic from Banaras. *Chandi-ki-Charitr*, as well as the glorification of the deeds of Rama and Krishna, in the writings of Govind show that he aimed at the resurrection of

the Hindus as a people, while keeping his own disciples strictly to the religious tenets of Nanak and his predecessors.

The political effects of Govind's twelve years of activity were also considerable. The Mughal authority in the vital province of the Punjab was completely shattered at the time of Aurangzeb's death. The military tradition of the Khalsa, which he emphasised and perfected, practically eradicated the vestige of Muslim authority in the 150 years that followed his death. The Punjab, which had for 700 years been entirely under Muslim occupation, again became a Hindu province under the successors of Govind; and undoubtedly what made this possible was the strength, solidarity and the national ideals which Govind gave to the Hindus in general and his own Sikh community in particular.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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